



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

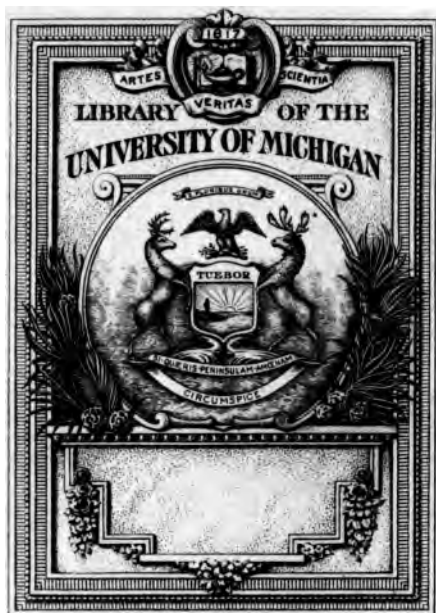
JK

2352

.1878

B

977,374



JN
2352
.1878

P. 7, 236
. 187

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN TEXT BOOK,

FOR

1878.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- CHAPTER I.—GREENBACKS.
 - CHAPTER II.—LABOR.
 - CHAPTER III.—SOUTHERN WAR CLAIMS.
 - CHAPTER IV.—THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.
 - CHAPTER V.—DEMOCRATIC ELECTION FRAUDS.
 - CHAPTER VI.—JEFF. DAVIS' LATEST SPEECH.
-

PUBLISHED BY THE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1878.



JK
2352
.1878

Gift
Professor H. L. Wilgus
1-2-1934

JK
2352
1878

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

The Greenback Question—Showing that the Republican Party always stood by the Republican Greenback, and that the Democratic Party always hated and fought it.

PART I—Page 1—HISTORY OF THE GREENBACK—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ITS FATHER, FRIEND AND GUARDIAN—THE LEGAL-TENDER ACT OF 1862—REASON FOR ITS BEING—CHASE'S LETTER—DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AND VOTES.

PART II—Page 1—THE DEMOCRATS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTRACTION—THE ACT OF 1866—ANALYSIS OF THE VOTES—ONLY ONE DEMOCRAT IN THE TWO HOUSES VOTES AGAINST CONTRACTION—THE ACT OF FEBRUARY 4, 1868, SUSPENDING CONTRACTION—ONLY TWENTY-FOUR DEMOCRATS VOTE FOR THAT.

PART III—Page 2—THE PUBLIC CREDIT ACT—EXTRAORDINARY VOTE BY WHICH IT PASSED—NOT ONE DEMOCRAT FOR IT—WHAT THE REPUBLICAN DOUBLE PLEDGE MEANT—DEMOCRATIC SENATOR HAMILTON'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO KILL THE REPUBLICAN GREENBACK.

PART IV—Page 3—PRETENDED DEMOCRATIC LOYS FOR THE GREENBACK—HOW THEY HURRAHED FOR IT BUT KEPT IT "IN THE WOODS"—A SMART TRICK EXPOSED—SOUTHWARD'S "BLIND" RESOLUTION MAKING GREENBACKS RECEIVABLE FOR CUSTOMS DUTIES—A BILL FROM THE REPUBLICAN SENATE TO THAT EFFECT BEATEN BY THE HOUSE DEMOCRATS—ANOTHER REPUBLICAN PROPOSITION (HUBBELL'S) TO RECEIVE GREENBACKS FOR CUSTOMS AND EXCHANGE THEM FOR COIN AND CONSTRUING THE RESUMPTION ACT SO THAT NO GREENBACKS SHALL BE RETIRED, ONLY RECEIVES SIX DEMOCRATIC VOTES—THE VOTES IN DETAIL—FORT'S ACT PROHIBITING FURTHER RETIREMENT, ETC., OF THE GREENBACK.

PART V—Page 4—DEMOCRATIC HATRED PURSUES THE GREENBACK INTO THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT—DEMOCRATIC JUDGES DECLARE IT AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL BASTARD—REPUBLICAN JUDGES DECLARE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL LEGITIMACY.

PART VI—Page 5—SPEECHES OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN CONGRESS DECLARING THE RE-

PUBLICAN GREENBACK UNCONSTITUTIONAL—VALLANDIGHAM—POWELL—HENDRICK B. WRIGHT—PENDLETON—COWAN—BAYARD—PEARCE—SAULSBURY.

CHAPTER II.

The Labor Question.

PART I—Page 6—THE REPUBLICAN THE TRUE LABOR PARTY—DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS TO DEGRADE AND BRUTALIZE LABOR—HOW THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ROBS PRODUCTIVE LABOR OVER \$125,000,000 EVERY YEAR—THEIR CHEESE-PARING POLICY—DEMOCRATIC CRUSADE AGAINST LABORERS AND SCRUBBING WOMEN AT WASHINGTON.

PART II—Page 6—CONDITION AND WAGES OF THE LABORER ABROAD COMPARED WITH AT HOME—DISCONTENT IN NORTH GERMANY—WAGES FALL WHILE FOOD RISES IN RHEINISH PRUSSIA—LOW PRICES OF SKILLED LABOR IN FRANCE—LONG HOURS AND LOW PAY IN ENGLAND—"STEADILY DECLINING" WAGES IN SCOTLAND, AND HIGH COST OF LIVING—WAGES STILL LOWER IN IRELAND—WAGES IN PARTS OF WALES MERELY NOMINAL—THE REASON WHY THE AMERICAN LABORER IS BETTER OFF—HOW TO AVOID "HARDER TIMES" AND TO GET "BETTER TIMES"—HERE—THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF BILL—HOW IT INJURED BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE WORKINGMAN—THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE TO CONSIDER IT—THE PANIC IT OCCASIONED—THE REPUBLICAN FIGHT AGAINST AND DEFEAT OF THE BILL—ANALYSIS OF THE VOTE—ANOTHER VOTE SHOWING THE ANTAGONISM OF DEMOCRACY TO LABOR.

PART III—Page 10—STILL ANOTHER VOTE SHOWING DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TO THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF HOME INDUSTRIES—THE REPUBLICAN CREED, HUMANITARIAN—DEMOCRATIC SCOFFS AT THE "MUDSILLS"—THE FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM—DEMOCRATIC NOTRUMS FOR PRESENT ILLS—THE WORKINGMEN DENOUNCE THEM—REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE LABOR PROBLEM.

PART IV—Page 11—THE REPUBLICAN HOMESTEAD ACT—HOW THE DEMOCRACY ALWAYS OPPOSED SUCH A POLICY—THE VOTES IN BOTH HOUSES BY WHICH THAT ACT WAS CREATED—

EXTENDING THE HOMESTEAD ACT—DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AND VOTES.

CHAPTER III.

Southern Claims.

PART I—Page 12—\$300,000,000 OF SOUTHERN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CLAIMS FOR COTTON, WAR MATERIAL, CAPTURED AND ABANDONED PROPERTY, ETC.

PART II—Page 12—REBEL CLAIMS DEMANDED AS A MATTER OF "JUSTICE AND RIGHT"—ALL PROPERTY DESTROYED BY BOTH ARMIES MUST BE PAID FOR—REBEL SOLDIERS OR THEIR HEIRS MUST "BE PAID IN BONDS OR PUBLIC LANDS FOR LOST TIME, LIMBS AND LIVES!"

PART III—Page 13—A "SPECIMEN BRICK" OF SOUTHERN CLAIMS—ITS BOGUS CHARACTER AND WONDERFUL GROWTH.

PART IV—Page 14—\$400,000,000 MORE—COMPENSATION DEMANDED FOR EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

PART V—Page 14—A BRIEF REVIEW OF SOME OF THE REBEL CLAIMS—DIRECT TAX—COTTON TAX—SPECIAL RELIEF—DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY—COMPENSATION FOR SLAVES—REBEL MAIL CONTRACTORS, ETC.—THEY ALREADY REACH THE ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF THREE THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS—WHERE WILL IT END?

PART VI—Page 15—CLAIM OF THE COLLEGE OF "WILLIAM AND MARY"—ONE OF THE ENTERING WEDGES.

PART VII—Page 16—FRAUDULENT CLAIMS OF SOUTHERN MAIL CONTRACTORS—HOW THE DEMOCRATS STROVE TO STEAL \$1,000,000—HOW THE HOUSE REPUBLICANS STOPPED THE STEAL—A SPECIMEN OF SOUTHERN "MORALITY"—THE VOTE THAT "SCOTCHED" THE FRAUDULENT CLAIMS.

PART VIII—Page 18—SUBSEQUENT ASSAULT ON THE SENATE BY THE SOUTHERN MAIL CONTRACTORS—BUT THEY ARE FINALLY DISCOMFITED—PROPOSITIONS AND VOTES.

PART IX—Page 19—CONGRESS'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PROHIBITING PAYMENT OF REBEL CLAIMS—VOTE THEREON—THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER SOUTHERN DOMINATION WOULD PAY THEM, AS THE RECORD SHOWS.

PART X—Page 20—TILDEN'S PRETENDED AVERSION TO REBEL CLAIMS—HIS DUPLICITY—HE WOULD NOT PAY "DISLOYAL" CLAIMS, BUT HOLDS THAT "WE ARE ALL LOYAL NOW"—EX-CONFEDERATE CABELL'S INGENUOUS REPORT PROVING THAT PARDONED OR AMNESTIED REBELS WERE "ALWAYS

LOYAL"—PROMISED ACTION "AFTER THE FALL ELECTIONS."

CHAPTER IV.

First Steps of the Revolution.

PART I—Page 22—INTRODUCTION TO THE EVIDENCES OF TILDEN'S REVOLUTIONARY INTENTIONS—DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY PROCEEDINGS THUS FAR—THEIR REMARKABLE GROWTH—HOW A MINORITY CAN OVERTHROW A GOVERNMENT—FORCIBLE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PERIL THAT POTTER IS PRECIPITATING—PLAUSIBLE PRETEXTS FOR REVOLUTION ALWAYS READY.

PART II—Page 25—THE FIRST POTTER LETTER DECLARING THE ELECTION SHOULD BE THROWN INTO THE HOUSE—THAT THE HOUSE IS THE SOLE JUDGE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, CAN ACT ALONE ON ITS OWN INFORMATION, AND IS SUPREME—TILDEN AS COMMANDER IN-CHIEF.

PART III—Page 27—THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACT—VOTES PROVING IT A DEMOCRATIC MEASURE—THE ELECTORAL COUNT—THE VOTE AS ANNOUNCED—SUBSEQUENT REVOLUTIONARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE BEFORE THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—FIELD'S QUO WARRANTO BILL AND VOTE ON IT.

PART IV—Page 29—REPORT OF HOUSE COMMITTEE AFFIRMING THE RIGHT OF THE HOUSE TO GO BEHIND RETURNS, AND ITS AUTHORITY OVER THE COUNT—VOTE ON BURCHARD'S AMENDMENT TO IT.

PART V—Page 30—MORRISON'S LETTER ON TILDEN'S "PLUCK"—TILDEN THOUGHT HE HAD "PACKED" THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION—HENDRICKS URGES THE HOUSE TO DECLARE TILDEN DULY ELECTED—VOTES BY WHICH THE HOUSE MAKES THAT REVOLUTIONARY DECLARATION—SUBSEQUENT DEMOCRATIC PROTEST DECLARING HAYES "A USURPER"—TILDEN OFFICIALLY NOTIFIED OF HIS ELECTION—DID HE TAKE THE OATH?—REVOLUTIONARY TALK—HEWITT'S ENFORCED RESIGNATION AND SINGULAR APOLOGY—JUDGE BLACK'S THREAT.

PART VI—Page 33—THE MANHATTAN CLUB RECEPTION—ORDERS WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE IS NOW ENFORCING—TREASONABLE UTTERANCES OF TILDEN, DORSHIMER, DUDLEY FIELD AND OTHERS—ONE THOUSAND DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRATS FROM TWELVE DIFFERENT STATES APPLAUD THE TREASON!

PART VII—Page 36—MARYLAND SELECTED TO MAKE THE FIRST MOVEMENT IN THE PLOT—THE MONTGOMERY (BLAIR) QUO WARRANTO RESOLUTION.

PART VIII—Page 37—THE POTTER INIQUITY FOUNDED UPON THE MARYLAND INITIATIVE—

RANDALL'S RULING ON QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE—THE REVOLUTIONARY INTENT ADMITTED—THE VOTES IN FULL.

PART IX—Page 39—THE CASEY YOUNG RESOLUTION—THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS REFUSE TO DECLARE THAT "IT IS NOT INTENDED TO DISTURB HAYES"—REPUBLICAN CAUCUS WARNING THE PEOPLE THAT THE POTTER MOVEMENT IS REVOLUTIONARY—REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE DECLARING THAT THE POTTER PLOT IS TO SUBORN WITNESSES, DECLARE HAYES AN USURPER, AND PUT HIM OUT.

PART X—Page 40—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS' LETTER OF WARNING TO POTTER—THE TILDEN-POTTER RUFFIANS HOOT HIM DOWN IN THE HOUSE—INTERVIEW WITH STEPHENS—"SNUG, THE JOINER"—"THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE AND QUIET."

PART XI—Page 41—CARTER HARRISON'S "QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE"—RESOLUTION EXTENDING INVESTIGATION AND DECLARING THAT THE HOUSE HAS NO REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSE WITHDRAWN UNDER DEMOCRATIC PRESSURE AFTER A VOTE WHICH SHOWED NO QUORUM—BEN WILSON'S RESOLUTION TO EXTEND THE INVESTIGATION IF THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE BELIEVES IN IT—WILSON'S ADMISSION AS TO "INTENT" OF THE POTTER INQUIRY—NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE APPROVES THE POTTER MOVEMENT AND REFUSES TO DISAVOW THE TREASONABLE INTENT—AN INFLUENTIAL DEMOCRAT ADMITS THE INTENT IF THEY CAN ONLY MAKE A CASE.

PART XII—Page 43—POTTER'S OPEN LETTER TO THE REVEREND "BLANK"—HIS FATAL ADMISSIONS TOUCHING THE MOTIVES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE INQUIRY—THE REVOLUTIONARY INTENT LAID BARE BY HIS OWN WORDS—NO JESUITISM CAN COVER THEM.

PART XIII—Page 45—ALEX. H. STEPHENS' SECOND LETTER TO POTTER—SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDS THE HALE AMENDMENT, AND SHOWS UP THE POTTER MOVEMENT IN ITS TRUE COLORS—"MOST UNWISE, MOST UNFORTUNATE, AND MOST MISCHIEVOUS"—"A CONTEMPTIBLE FARCE OR A HORRIBLE TRAGEDY"—POTTER'S JESUITICAL WHISPERINGS AS "DELUSIVE AND GUILTFUL" AS THOSE OF "THE GREAT ARCH-FIEND."

PART XIV—Page 46—THE BURCHARD RESOLUTION—THE DEMOCRATS "FORCED AGAINST THEIR WILL" TO DECLARE AN OPINION ON HAYES' TITLE—THEY ARE TAKEN BY SURPRISE, AND ARE PANIC-STRICKEN AND ROUTED—A GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE—THE VOTE BY WHICH A REVOLUTIONARY HOUSE, DRIVEN BY SUDDEN FEAR, CONDEMNS ITS OWN TREASONABLE PURPOSES.

PART XV—Page 48—THE NEXT DEMOCRATIC MOVE—THROWING SAWDUST IN PEOPLE'S

EYES—VOTE ON HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE REPORT AND RESOLUTION A MEER PIECE OF CLAP-TRAP FOR THE FALL ELECTIONS.

PART XVI—Page 48—THE WORK OF THE POTTER COMMITTEE—IMPEACHMENT OF HAYES AND WHEELER TALKED OF—HOW IT IS TO BE DONE—HAYES OUT AND TILDEN IN, OR HAYES OUT AND THURMAN IN—DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITIES FOR IT.

CHAPTER V.

A History of Democratic Election Frauds.

PART I—Page 50—"COUNTING IN" PECULIARLY A DEMOCRATIC INVENTION AND PECULIARLY A DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE—COUNTING IN OF POLK IN 1844—OF BUCHANAN IN 1857—THE ATTEMPT TO COUNT TILDEN IN IN 1876—THE EARLIER FRAUDS COMPARED WITH THE LATER.

PART II—Page 53—POPULAR VOTES VS. ELECTORAL VOTES—POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES OF HARRISON AND VAN BUREN, POLK AND CLAY, HARRISON AND CASS—TILDEN'S PRETENDED "POPULAR" MAJORITY—VOTES IN THE FREE, BORDER AND SLAVE STATES—REAL VOTING STRENGTH OF GULF STATES SHOWS A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY OF 183,335 IN 1870, AND LARGE INCREASE SINCE—SOUTH CAROLINA, MISSISSIPPI, AND LOUISIANA ESSENTIALLY REPUBLICAN NOW.

PART III—Page 55—THE FLORIDA CASE—BLOODY VIOLENCE FAILING, FRAUD AND JUDICIAL USURPATION—A BRIEF HISTORY OF ALL THE FRAUDULENT PROCEEDINGS BY WHICH TILDEN STROVE TO CAPTURE THAT ONE NEEDED ELECTORAL VOTE—FACTS, FIGURES AND INCIDENTS.

PART IV—Page 59—THE LOUISIANA CASE—POPULATION AND VOTES—KU-KLUX CRIMES OF 1868—TILDEN RIFLE CLUBS OF 1876—THE TERRIBLE OUTRAGES AND MURDERS IN THE SEVENTEEN PARISHES—SHERIDAN'S STATEMENT—THE STATE RETURNING BOARD—ITS DUTIES—HOW AND WHY IT ACTED—INFAMY OF THE TILDEN DEMOCRACY.

PART V—Page 62—THE HALE AMENDMENT TO THE ONE-SIDED RESOLUTION—THE FLORIDA FRAUDS—THE OREGON CORRUPTION AND BRIBERY—THE LOUISIANA BULL-DOZING AND FRAUDS—THE SOUTH CAROLINA BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION—THE MISSISSIPPI SHOT-GUN FRAUDS, REGISTRATION AND OTHER STATISTICS.

PART VI—Page 64—THE PAGE RESOLUTION CONDEMNING TILDEN'S ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE OREGON VOTE, AND DENOUNCING THE INFAMY OF CRONIN, DEFEATED BY THE DEMOCRATS—ONLY TWO DECENT MEN IN ALL ISRAEL.

CHAPTER VI.

Jeff Davis' Recent Speech.

PART I—Page 66—THE RIGHT OF SECESSION
VINDICATED STILL—"A NECESSITY FOR THE
SAFETY AND FREEDOM OF THE SOUTHERN
STATES—DUTY TO FIGHT FOR IT—THE SOUTH
WILL ABIDE BY THE CONSTITUTION AS THEY

CONSTRUE IT—THE ASSURANCE OF FULL TRI-
UMPH TO THE SOUTH—RENEWAL OF STATE
SOVEREIGNTY—FRATERNITY DESTROYED—
THE COMING SOUTHERN DOMINATION"—"PRIN-
CIPLES AND PRACTICES" OF THE SLAVE-HOLD-
ERS TO BE RESTORED—THE MISSISSIPPI SHOT
GUN MEANS OF SOUTHERN RESTORATION—THE
SPIRIT WHICH ANIMATED HIS HEARERS—SPIRIT
OF THE MISSISSIPPI PRESS.

CHAPTER I.

The Republican Party the Real Greenback Party.

PART I.

The Republican Party the Father, Friend, and Guardian of the Republican Greenback—History of the Greenback's Birth—The Legal-Tender Act—Reason for its Being—Democratic Opposition and Votes—Secretary Chase's Letter.

To ascertain the position in which the two great parties of the country have hitherto stood on the legal-tender note, or "Greenback" question, and the folly of the formation of a "Greenback party," when it is susceptible of positive proof that the Republican party has not only always been the best friend, but is the father and guardian of the greenback, while the Democratic party has been its bitter enemy, it may be well to look back into the history of its origin and its growth in public esteem.

It originated in 1862 as purely a Republican measure, suggested by a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, passed by a Republican Congress, approved by a Republican President, as a means whereby a long and bloody war, brought on by the attempts of the rebel wing of the Democratic party to rule or ruin this Union of States, might end in a triumph of union and freedom.

February 6, 1862, under the management of that staunch "old commoner," Thad. Stevens, the bill first authorizing an issue of United States legal-tender notes was passed by the House. The vote was yeas 93, nays 59, the yeas (only seven Democrats) being almost entirely Republican, and the nays (which included twenty Republicans) mainly Democratic. Among the prominent Democrats who voted against the greenback on this its first appearance will be found the names of S. S. Cox, Holman, of Indiana, Pendleton and Vallandigham, of Ohio, and Voorhees, of Indiana, some of whom at this late day profess to be advocates and friends of the greenback! In the Senate the bill was passed by an affirmative vote of 80, of

whom 25 were Republicans—only three Republicans voting against it! The bill became a law February 25, 1862.

The reason why the legal-tender clause was put into the act at the suggestion of the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, was because of the refusal of "some persons and some institutions" which refused to receive and pay out United States notes and thus depreciated them. These "persons" and "institutions" were of the Democratic faith, and their effort was to cripple the Government in its war on the Southern wing of the Democratic party for the preservation of the Union. This is the precise language of Mr. Secretary Chase's letter of January 29, 1862, to Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, which led to the enactment of the legal-tender measure:

* * * But, unfortunately, there are some persons and some institutions which refuse to receive and pay them, (U. S. notes,) and whose action tends not merely to the unnecessary depreciation of the notes, but to establish discrimination in business against those who, in this matter, give a cordial support to the Government, and in favor of those who do not. Such discriminations should, if possible, be prevented; and the provision making the notes a legal tender, in a great measure at least, prevents it, by putting all citizens, in this respect, on the same level both of rights and duties. * *

The Democratic opposition was intended to help the rebellion and cripple the Union Treasury. That was the motive. It was founded upon the pretence that the issue of legal-tender greenbacks was unconstitutional. That was the pretext. The Democrats hated the greenback before its birth, at its birth, and until by Republican legislation it grew strong and beautiful. They still hate it. But with devilish cunning they now pretend to love it, and, with fond caresses would embrace it only to its destruction and undoing.

PART II.

The Democrats Directly Responsible for Contraction—The Act of April 12, 1866—Analysis of the Votes by which it Passed.

The act of April 12, 1866, first session, Thirty-ninth Congress—providing for

contraction of the volume of greenbacks—may fairly be claimed by the Democrats as their own measure. Under that act, it will be remembered, the Secretary of the Treasury actually retired \$44,000,000 legal-tenders, reducing the volume of greenbacks in circulation to \$356,000,000, although subsequently, after the panic of September, 1873, the Secretary issued (or reissued) more than half of what he had previously withdrawn. This contraction act passed the House March 23, 1866, by a vote of 83 yeas to 53 nays. There were 55 Republicans voting yea, while 52 Republicans voted nay. There were 28 Democrats who voted yea, and only one Democrat who voted nay. The Democrats had the balance of power, and under the lead of Samuel J. Randall, James Brooks, Michael C. Kerr, Samuel S. Marshall and Charles A. Eldridge, threw their united strength for the bill, leaving only one poor Democratic straggler—Edwin N. Hubbell—among the host of Republicans who fought the bill.

So, in the Senate. There the bill was passed April 9, 1866, by a vote of 32 yeas to 7 nays. The seven nays were all Republicans, and all the Democrats who voted, voted for the bill. Thus it appears that on the passage of the bill in both Houses the aggregate Democratic vote against contraction was a solitary *one*!

The Act of February 4, 1868, suspending contraction—Vote analyzed—The same old story.

Again, there is the case of the act of February 4, 1868, passed during the second session of the Fortieth Congress, which reads in part as follows:

Be it enacted, &c., That from and after the passage of this act the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to make any reduction of the currency, by retiring or canceling United States notes, shall be, and is hereby, suspended.

This act passed the House December 7, 1867, by 127 yeas to 32 nays; and of the 127 yeas only 24 were Democratic votes, while 103 were Republican.

Thus again and again do we see that while the Republicans did all they possibly could for the greenback, the Democrats did all they possibly could against it, and whenever they were strong enough did effectual harm. And as if to point the case still more strongly, the Democratic President, Andy Johnson, allowed the measure to become a law by the lapse of time, (because he knew it was useless to veto it,) but refused absolutely to sign it.

PART III.

The Public Credit Act—The Remarkable Vote by which it Passed—Not one Democrat Votes for it—What the Double Pledge of that Act was Intended to Mean.

The Public Credit Act of March 18, 1869—the first act approved by President Grant—contained and still contains the following:

*Be it enacted, &c., That * * * the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes. * * * And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.*

The vote by which this act passed the House, March 12, 1869, was 97 yeas—all Republicans except Axtell, who is now a Republican—to 47 nays, which were all Democratic except 13. In other words, all the Democrats of that House who voted on the question voted to cripple the greenback in every way they could, and this important act, designed to nurse and foster the greenback, to give it character and value in the eyes of the world, as well as in our own eyes, was carried through the House solely by Republican votes. In the Senate the same thing was observed. The public credit act passed the Senate, March 16, 1869, by 42 yeas to 13 nays. All those voting for the bill were Republicans. Six Democrats (there were only eight Democrats all told in the Senate at that time) voted against it.

This shows the absolute unanimity of the Democratic party at that time in opposition to the greenback, and the almost absolute unanimity of the Republican party in its favor.

And here it may be well to note the words of the double pledge, intended to strengthen and maintain the value of the greenback. The first pledge is that, some time or other, the greenback will be paid in coin, "*or its equivalent*." The second pledge is, that "provision" at the "earliest practicable period" shall be made for its redemption. There is nothing whatever in these pledges to show the intention was to retire the greenback whenever that "practicable period" should arrive. On the contrary, it was the manifest, palpable intention of these pledges—first, to make the greenback

dollar as good as a gold or silver dollar, and, second, to let all understand that the Government would pay a gold or silver dollar for the greenback dollar, just as soon as they could, provided anybody wanted a gold or silver dollar in place of the greenback dollar. There was not the slightest intention to force a retirement of greenbacks.

The Republican party conceived and created the greenback, and reared it to its present full and mature stature, despite all the diseases which it had to encounter in its infancy and youth, and despite all the malignant devices and machinations with which the Democracy sought early and late to enfeeble, cripple, and destroy it. The Republican party was not likely "to go back" on that which had proven to be its best friend.

Senator Hamilton's proposed amendment to knock the life out of the Greenback.

December 10, 1873.—In the Senate, Mr. Hamilton, of Maryland, (Democrat,) proposed a new article to the Constitution, viz: That

The United States shall never make anything but gold and silver coin a tender for the payment of debts, either public or private.

This never came to a vote.

PART IV.

A Democratic Trick at the End of a Session—A Vote that Amounts to Nothing—A Previous Vote where the Democrats Refused to Adopt the Republican Senate's Proposition to make Greenbacks Receivable for Customs Duties—The Vote in Full.

After wasting many valuable months, on the 20th June, 1878, in the last hours of the session, the House went through the motions of passing a bill, offered by Mr. Southard, providing that "on and after the first day of October, A. D. 1878, legal-tender notes of the United States shall be received at par in payment of customs duties," when it was *quite evident* that nothing could be done by the Senate at that session. As Congress will not meet again until after the date fixed in the bill, of course the measure is dead. It was a sharp trick to "fool" the people; but not sharp enough to make them believe that the life-long enemy of the greenback had really and sincerely become its friend all at once.

The Ewing Anti-Resumption House bill, as amended, having gone to the Sen-

ate, that Republican body on June 18th, 1878, amended and passed it, so that it read as follows:

Be it enacted, &c. That from and after the passage of this act United States notes shall be receivable the same as coin in payment for the 4 per cent. bonds now authorized by law to be issued; and on and after October 1, 1878, said notes shall be receivable for duties on import

If the Democrats wanted an opportunity to show love for the greenback, here was their chance, for here was a measure expressly designed by the Republicans to increase the value and usefulness of the greenback, and which measure, had the Democratic House not killed it, would have brought greenbacks fully up to par with gold and silver.

June 18, Mr. Fort, Republican, moved to suspend the rules and concur in the above Senate amendments.

The Democratic House refused to suspend the rules and concur by 140 yeas to 112 nays—a two-thirds vote being needed. Only 84 Democrats voted yea, while 97 of them voted nay. Following is the vote in full:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Bicknell, Bisbee, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, J. M. Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Caswell, Claffin, R. Clark, Clamer, Cobb, Cole, Conger, S. S. Coe, Cravens, Culberson, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellsworth, Errett, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Fuller, Gardner, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Hale, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Harmer, Harrison, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbell, Hunter, Hutton, H. L. Humphrey, Ittner, James, F. Jones, Jorgensen, Keifer, Keightley, Kenna, J. H. Ketcham, Kimmel, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Luttrell, Marsh, Mayham, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Morrison, Muller, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Reagan, Reed, W. W. Rice, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Schleicher, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Tucker, Veeder, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wren—140.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blair, Blount, Boone, Bowch, Bragg, Bright, Brogden, Butler, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, Chittenden, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, Cook, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickes, Durham, Eames, Elam, I. N. Evans, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Garfield, Garth, Gause, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hart, Hartridge, Hartzell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hungerford, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, Kelley, Ligon, Lockwood, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Manning, McCook, McKenzie, Mackey, Maish, Monroe, Morgan, Morse, Muldrow, O'Neill, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Raa, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Singleton, A. H.

Smith, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Wait, W. Ward, Warner, Whitthorne, J. Williams, B. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, Young—112.

Another Democratic vote against the Republican Greenback—Against its being receivable for customs—and in favor of cancelling and retiring it.

November 2, 1877.—Mr. Hubbell, Republican, moved to strike out the enacting clause of the Ewing House bill—which sought to repeal the third section of the Resumption act—and insert the following:

That so much of section 3 of an act to provide for resumption of specie payments approved January 14, 1875, as provides for the redemption in coin, by the United States, of all legal-tender notes outstanding on the first day of January, 1879, embraced in the clause of said section of said act in the language following, to wit: "And on and after the 1st day of January, A. D. 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50," shall be so construed as not to authorize or require the Secretary of the Treasury to retire and cancel said notes, redeemed as aforesaid, but to authorize and require said Secretary to deposit said notes in the Treasury of the United States, whereupon said notes shall be paid out, at par value, in discharge of all claims and demands against the United States, or in exchange for coin; and said notes shall, as heretofore, continue to be a legal tender, and on and after January 1, 1879, shall be receivable, at their face value, in payment of all dues to the Government, and for all debts, except where coin payment is stipulated by contract or statute; and all provisions of law in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

This was defeated by 90 yeas to 158 nays—only 6 Democrats voting for it, and only 30 Republicans voting against it. The following is the vote in detail:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Bisbee, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Claffin, R. Clark, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, I. N. Evans, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Iltner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Keightley, G. M. Lander, Lapham, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Mattwell, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Monroe, Morse, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Pacheco, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, Sampson, Shellenberger, Sinnickson, Stewart, J. W. Stone, A. Townsend, Wait, Watson, Welch, H. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, Willits, Wren—90.

NAYS—Messrs. Atkins, J. H. Baker, Ban-ning, Bayne, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Aland, Boone, Bragg, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Buckner, Cabell, Cain, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Calkins, Cannon, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, Cowert, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cutler, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham,

Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Errett, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Gardner, Garth, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartbridge, Hartzell, Haskell, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunter, Hutton, J. T. Jones, Joyce, Kelley, Kenna, Killinger, Kimmell, Knapp, Knott, Lathrop, Leonard, Ligon, Mackey, Maish, Manning, Marsh, Martin, Mayham, McCook, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, Oliver, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, M. S. Robinson, M. Ross, Ryan, Sapp, Sayler, Seales, Shelley, Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Stephens, Stearns, J. M. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Van Vorhes, Waddell, Walsh, Warner, M. D. White, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates, Young—158.

Another Republican measure gets through both Houses.

April 29, 1878, Mr. Fort, Republican, introduced the following bill, which passed both Houses, and is now law, prohibiting any further retirement of the Republican greenback:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury or other officer under him to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender notes. And when any of said notes may be redeemed or be received into the Treasury under any law from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, canceled or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation: *Provided,* That nothing herein shall prohibit the cancellation and destruction of mutilated notes and the issue of other notes of like denomination in their stead, as now provided by law. All acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

PART V.

Democratic Hatred of the Republican Greenback Follows it even into the Supreme Court—Democratic Justices Hold the Legal Tender Act Unconstitutional—Republican Justices Hold Otherwise.

As a further illustration of the impregnable position that while the Democratic party has ever been the enemy of the greenback, the Republican party has ever been its best and only friend, it may be well to recall the fact that in the famous case of *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, involving the constitutionality of the legal tender clause, as relates to contracts made prior to its adoption, the Democratic Supreme Court judges—Chief Justice Chase, and Associate Justices Nelson, Clifford, Grier, and Field—decided that the legal tender

act "is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; and that it is prohibited by the Constitution;" while the Republican judges—Miller, Swayne and Davis—dissented, and held the "very decided opinion that Congress acted within the scope of its authority," and declared, in their opinion, "the law to be constitutional." That is known as the legal tender decision of 1869—and was not made by a full court. Subsequently, with a full bench, the Supreme Court made, in the cases of Knox vs. Lee and Parker vs. Davis, what is known as the legal tender decision of 1871—the Republican justices, forming a majority of the court, holding the legal tender "acts of Congress constitutional, as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage," thus overruling the former decision in Hepburn vs. Griswold; while the Democratic judges, to wit: Chief Justice Chase, and Justices Nelson, Clifford, and Field, dissented.

PART VI.

Utterances of Democratic Leaders in Congress Declaring the Greenback Unconstitutional.

The Democratic leaders besides voting against the Republican greenback worked against it and talked in Congress against it with all their might—taking the ground that it was unconstitutional to issue such money. Here is what some of them said on this point.

What Vallandigham, Democrat, of Ohio, said.

In a speech, February 3, 1862, Mr. VALLANDIGHAM said:

Sir, if it were fifty fold as constitutional as, in my deliberate judgment it is unconstitutional in letter, and abhorrent to the principles and spirit of that instrument, it could not command my support. I will not renew the discussion of the question of constitutional power to make Government paper or any other paper, a

legal-tender in payment of any debts, public or private, present or prospective. My colleague from the First district (Mr. Pendleton) the other day, with a clearness and force never exceeded in this hall, disposed of that question forever. * *

Mr Powell, Democrat, of Kentucky, said:

In my judgment the bill is plainly and palpably violative of the Constitution of the United States. * *

Hendrick B. Wright, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, said, February 5, 1862:

This bill proposes, sir, to throw on the country \$100,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable at no time—payable nowhere—payable at the pleasure of the Government—and the astounding clause is added, that these notes—payable at no place, at no time—shall be lawful money and a legal-tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States. Now I submit, as a matter of law, as a correct conclusion from the Constitution itself, that you cannot, under the Constitution of these United States, make anything but gold and silver a legal-tender on contracts.

George H. Pendleton, Democrat, of Ohio, said, January 29, 1862:

I find no grant of this power in direct terms, or, as I think, by fair implication. It is not an accidental omission; it is not an admission through inadvertency; it was intentionally left out of the Constitution because it was designed that the power should not reside in the Federal Government.

Senator James A. Bayard, Democrat, of Delaware, February 13, 1862, said:

The thing, to my mind, is so palpable a violation of the Constitution that I doubt whether in any court of justice in the country, having a decent regard to its own respectability, you can possibly expect that this bill which you now pass will not, whenever the question is presented judicially, receive its condemnation as unconstitutional and void in this clause.

Senator James A. Pearce, Democrat, of Maryland, said, February 13, 1862:

I see no power from which we can infer authority in this Government to make paper money a legal tender.

Senator Willard Saulsbury, Democrat, of Delaware, said, February 13, 1862:

It is so clearly unconstitutional, in my opinion, that I cannot conscientiously vote for it.

CHAPTER II.

The Labor Question.

PART I.

The Labor Question—The Republican Party the True Labor Party—Democratic Efforts to Degradate and Brutalize Labor.

What does the workingman want that the Republican party is not pledged by every tradition and measure to do for him? That party was absolutely born in a fight with the slave power—the power of *owned* labor, owned by Democrats. And throughout its existence it has ever frowned down and legislated against any and all movements to degrade labor and make it servile. The Democratic party, on the other hand, has not had a thought for the past forty-five years beyond the preservation of the accursed systems of slavery and servile labor. For the right to *own* labor instead of *paying* “a fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work,” that party plunged the nation into civil war.

How the Democratic party robs Productive labor over \$125,000,000 a year.

Out of the wealth which labor produces every year, more than \$125,000,000 are paid for pensions and interest on the war debt of the nation, all entailed by the war waged by Southern Democrats, egged on by Northern Democratic Dough-faces, for a slave labor system.

Democratic “devotion” to the laboring people—The “cheese-paring” policy—Sad sights and sounds in Washington—Democratic crusade against scrubbing women and male laborers.

The Democratic House during the last three years has shown its “devotion to the laboring people” by the cheese-paring policy of cutting down the wages of government laborers, messengers, and clerks, carefully avoiding any reduction in the pay of its own members. Upon the adjournment at each session the streets of Washington have presented the spectacle of crowds of hapless people discharged from the lower grades of service in the departments, while the corridors of the great Government buildings were *loud with the wailing of poor wo-*

men suddenly bereft of all chance to earn a scant livelihood for themselves and dependent families. It may be regarded as the special triumph of this Democratic policy that in this cutting down of the low-priced laborers and clerks, both as to pay and numbers employed, the poor scrubbing women engaged at the public buildings were reduced in the greatest proportion, and many were discharged. At one time even the appropriations for laborers at the Capitol were withheld. So that there was no lawful way in which men enough could be employed to clean up the filth expectorated by the Democracy in the halls through which the wives of Senators, Cabinet officers, foreign ministers, or even the wife of the President, could walk to reach the place assigned to them in the galleries of Congress.

PART II.

Condition and Wages of the Laborer abroad—Compare these Prices and Hard Times with our own.

To show that the prevailing “hard times” in America—bad as they are—might be worse, and that “worse times” really exist in other countries, it is instructive to glance at the reports on labor and wages in various foreign countries recently received at the State Department from our consuls abroad. A comparison of the condition and wages of the European laborer with those of the American laborer will show, at any rate, that the latter is not yet reduced to such straits as his European brother, thanks to the defeat of the Democratic Wood tariff bill.

Labor and wages in Northern Germany—Discontent.

The consul at Brunswick, reporting as to Northern Germany, divides labor into three classes:

Mechanics and skilled artisans of all kinds, who receive from 48 to 88 cents a day; ordinary laborers, including farm and field hands, who receive from 40 to 64 cents a day, without board; and railway hands, laborers on public works, and the like, who get from 44 to 60 cents

a day. A laborer's family of husband, wife and three children, can live very comfortable on 900 marks (about \$215) per annum, and if steady work offers can make both ends meet. In most cases the wife and elder children contribute to the general support by performing other work.

Labor and wages in Rhenish Prussia—Fall in wages—Rise in cost of living.

Our consul at Bannen transmits, June 8, 1878, a letter from the president of the Agricultural Society, Rhenish Prussia, in which he says:

During the years 1871-4, the wages of farm hands and journeymen had risen to such a height that agricultural pursuits yielded but a small profit, or more often resulted in severe losses to tenants and owners of mortgaged lands. The rise was equal to 50 per cent., and the fall during the last few years is about 25 per cent. Grain and bread prices have fallen slightly, but all other necessities remain to a great extent at their former prices. This is particularly true with the dairy and the herd. Milk, butter, cheese, meats, and leather have more than doubled in price in the last twenty-five years.

Low prices of skilled labor in France.

Our commercial agent at St. Etienne, France, reports, June 7, 1878:

Weavers of plain ribbons earn 40 to 50 cents a day, a better grade 60 and 70 cents, and novelties \$1.40 to \$1.80 a day. Women, who do most of the work on ribbon, except weaving, make from 50 to 85 cents a day. Farm hands average \$15 a month, while their cost of living is \$12 or \$13 a month. Miners, those who work underground, earn \$1.05 to \$1.15 a day; above ground, 65 to 75 cents a day. No improvements are manifest in machinery or in the manner of doing business.

Long hours and low pay in England.

Our consul at Bradford, England, reports as to his district that—

The wages of railroad employees are: Station-master, \$350 to \$500 a year, with a house; guards, \$5 to \$7.50 a week; engine-driver, \$1.37 to \$1.87 a day; stoker, 87 cents to \$1 per day. Factory hands—General foreman, \$3 to \$5 per day; foreman, \$1.50; skilled hands, man, \$1.25; woman, 75 cents; common hands, 87 to 50 cents; mechanics, \$1.25; cartmen, \$1; colliers, \$1.50 a day. Police force—Chief superintendent, \$2,500 and house (included) per annum; superintendents of divisions, \$700 to \$750; inspectors, \$3.75 to \$10 a week; sergeants, \$7.25 to \$3.75; policemen, \$6 to \$5.50 a week. Public works—Street sweepers, 83 cents a day; laborers, 87 to 95 cents a day; repairers of street paving, \$1. All laborers work 5½ hours per week. Wages began to be reduced one year ago, followed by strikes and riots.

Low wages in Scotland—They are steadily declining—High cost of living.

Our consul at Leith gives the annual income among the Lothians:

Of farm laborers as \$242.40; in the south-west of Scotland, \$230.40; women, \$144. In the northeastern counties men \$221.11. Female kitchen servants \$76.80 per annum. In extreme northern counties men \$187.20. Day laborers get from 48 to 72 cents a day. Specially skilled or trustworthy men and women receive higher wages than those above specified.

In most cases married men are paid monthly, and single men half yearly. On the railways the wages per week are: Passenger conductors, \$6.48; freight conductors, \$7.20; porters, \$5.04. Sunday labor is paid for extra. Engineers receive \$1.68 per day; firemen, 96 cents; laborers, 72 cents. Men in the linen works earn \$6 per week; women, \$2.65. A week is 56½ hours. Carpenters are paid \$1.05; masons, \$1.50; laborers, 80 cents. A day is ten hours except with masons, whose day is nine hours. Bookbinders earn \$8.50 per week; shoemakers, \$6 for sixty hours, (as a rule they work by the piece); cabinet-makers, \$7.20; printers, newspaper, night work, make from \$11 to \$18 a week or more; day work, \$7.80, (day hands work 5½ hours, night hands 48 hours per week.) In publishing houses they earn \$6.75 for 54 hours. Painters \$7.65 for 51 hours; plumbers, \$7.20; tailors, generally by the piece, averaging \$5.75 per week.

Our consul at Glasgow reports, as to Scotland generally: "Wages are steadily declining. Laborers receive from 50 to 75 cents a day; miners, 8 to 12 cents an hour; mechanics, \$7 a week; printers, \$8. On railways conductors are paid \$5 to \$6 a week; switch-tenders, \$5; engine-drivers, 10 to 14 cents an hour; firemen, 6 to 8 cents an hour. The cost of living is about the same as in the United States; whisky, considered a necessity, costs about 300 per cent. more in Scotland than in the United States. Beer is comparatively cheap."

Wages still lower in Ireland—Decreased "savings."

Our consul at Cork reports, June 27, 1878, that in Ireland

Agricultural laborers get 48 cents a day; coal-heavers, machinists, gas-fitters, and bakers, \$1.09; masons, shoemakers, painters, and joiners, \$1.21; on public works laborers earn from 48 to 60 cents a day; on the railways conductors receive from \$4.38 to \$7.29 per week; engineers, \$1.21 to \$1.70 per day. Last summer the railway employees struck for an advance, but failed. The cost of living to the laborer and mechanic is about \$95 per annum. Trade is much depressed, with many failures. Wages and cost of living have increased about one-sixth since 1873.

Our consul at Dublin reports as to Ireland that—

The skilled mechanic gets per day 6s. 6d., and the unskilled mechanic receives 17s. 6d. per week. Agricultural laborers are paid per day from 1s. 2d. to 2s. 6d., permanent, and from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. in the busy season, the rate of wages varying very much according to locality and season.

Low wages in Wales—Women forced to labor—Wages decreased and decreasing.

Our consul at Cardiff, Wales, reports, June 29, 1878, that—

In Wales farm laborers earn from \$1.50 to \$3.50 per week, varying in different counties more or less distant from railroads; privileges of house room and beer may be added to the wages. In towns brickmakers earn \$2.50 to \$7.50 a week; ship carpenters, \$1.62 a day; coopers, \$1.12; engine drivers, \$1.25 to \$3; firemen, \$1 to \$1.12; laborers, 10 cents per hour; painters, 14 cents; masons, 16 cents; carpenters, 16 cents; plumbers, 15 cents; plasterers, 15 cents an hour. The wives of laboring men fill a more active place in the bread winning scheme than women do in America. Many go off to their work every morning of their lives as regularly as their husbands. The cost of living in Wales would be somewhat higher now than in 1873, were it not for the importation of

American beef, canned meats, vegetables, and fruits. Meantime the rate of wages has decreased and the tendency is downward. Trade throughout the district is in a very depressed condition. There is much distress among the laboring classes for want of employment. The Welsh laborers as a class are thriftier than the Irish or English. In some parts of Wales the habits of the people are still primitive. Wages are there nominal.

The reason why the American laborer is better off than the laborer abroad—How to avoid harder times and get better times here.

Thus, we find without taking into account such circumstances as the awful famines in China, India and Southern Morocco, or the distresses in European and Asiatic Turkey, incident to the war with Russia—that the American laborer is certainly better off than the laborer of foreign lands, despite all the malevolent attempts of the Democrats to tinker the tariff in the interest of foreign manufacturers and importers, and against the interests of home manufacturers and the labor which they employ. Upon the political complexion of the next House, it largely depends whether times will grow still harder, as will be the case if the Democrats get control of it, or whether brighter days shall dawn as will be the case if the Republicans get control of it. For it is susceptible of proof that the "cheese paring" policy in the cutting down of the pay and numbers of the poor Government laborers and clerks, inaugurated at the time the Democrats secured the House three years ago, under the sham cry of "economy," immediately led to the reduction of wages of labor all over the United States, and the throwing out of numberless thousands of deserving workmen and women from employment in all our cities and towns. It caused untold distress, and the panic created by the threatened passage of the Wood tariff bill, added still further to the general scare and disaster and the consequent suffering and misery of the classes who are anxious for work but cannot get it. Yet, despite all this, as has been shown, the comparison of wages of labor in this country with wages of labor in foreign countries is favorable to our own; and that this is the case is due mainly to the present tariff system of the United States, adhered to by the Republican party, and to which the Democratic party is opposed. Let us examine this matter a moment.

The Democratic tariff bill—How it unsettled business interests and injured the laboring man—The Democratic vote to consider it.

The Wood Tariff bill introduced at the

last session of the present Congress undoubtedly did more than any other one thing to unsettle values, to destroy confidence in our industries, to make capital timid of investment, and to react with cruel effect upon the mechanic and laboring men and women throughout the country. At first the industrial interests of the land proceeded as usual, under the belief that it was merely one of the usual clap trap devices of Democracy to secure some little political strength in certain localities, and that there was no serious purpose in it. But after a while apprehension was aroused and petition after petition came in from the bone and sinew of the land, deprecating and protesting against any change in the wise tariff act which had been given to the country by the Republican party. Deaf to these appeals, and refusing to give audience to the delegations which came to Washington in the interests of the trades and of labor, Mr. Wood and his Democratic friends, continued defiantly to press his iniquitous, illy-digested tariff bill in the interests of foreigners and foreign importers and against the interests of our own tradesmen and workmen and the people generally. Republicans did all they could to refuse the measure any consideration whatever, but at last, on the 26th March, 1878, Mr. Wood succeeded in bringing the bill before the House. Upon his motion a resolution was adopted making his bill the special order for Thursday, April 4, and to continue from day to day until disposed of. The vote by which this resolution was agreed to was 137 yeas to 114 nays. Of the yeas there were 122 Democrats and only 15 Republicans; of the nays 104 Republicans and only 10 Democrats. Thus, in spite of the almost solid Republican vote against giving this crude bill a hearing, an almost solid Democratic vote brought it before the House and gave it a chance of being enacted into a law. The Democrats who voted to make the bill a special order are the following:

Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Covert, S. S. Corcoran, Crittenden, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellis, Evon, E. B. Finley, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hutton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knott, G. M. Landers, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldroop, Muller, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Quinn, Rea, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Rob-

erts, Robertson, Saylor, Scales, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Willis, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, and Young.

The panic it occasioned—Gallant fight by the Republicans for the laboring man—How they killed the Democratic Tariff Bill—Democrats who voted for the bill.

The Republicans, however, continued to fight the monstrous iniquities proposed by this bill, and finally, after a long and doubtful contest—during which many of our most important industries languished, hundreds of business houses were forced to suspend operations, hundreds of others were forced into bankruptcy, and thousands upon thousands of our laboring people were deprived of the chance to earn their daily bread—succeeded in killing this baleful Democratic measure. On the 5th of June, 1878, the enacting clause of the bill—to the intense chagrin of Mr. Wood and his Democratic colleagues—was stricken out, and the bill defeated by a vote of 134 yeas to 120 nays. Of the 134 yeas, 115 were Republicans and only 19 Democrats. Of the 120 nays, 113 were Democrats and only 7 Republicans. The Democratic vote in favor of the bill was therefore in the proportion of about 6 for, to every 1 against it! The Republican vote against the bill was in the proportion of about 16 against, to every 1 for it! The names of the Democrats who voted against killing the bill were as follows:

YAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Guenter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Harzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Bea, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Saylor, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Steele, Stephens, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates, Young.

Fernando Wood's Admissions as to the Infamous Intentions of the Democratic Tariff Policy—Proposed Reduction of Duties by his bill 15 per cent—Further Reduction of 35 per cent. Contemplated.

In order to see that the object of Fernando Wood's tariff bill and of the Demo-

cratic party is ultimately so to reduce the present rates of customs duties as to completely destroy the principle of protection, it is only necessary to glance at his speech delivered in the House, April 9, 1878, in support of that monstrous measure. Speaking of the present rates of duties this Democratic leader airily said:

I recognize an implied moral right to a *little longer* continuation of the favor which they afford to the manufacturing interests. The bill reported *affects them*, so far as the rates of duties are concerned, *but little*. Its reductions are trifling as compared to what they should be, and in my opinion they could well afford to bear. If I had the power to commence *de novo* I should reduce the duties 50 per cent. instead of less than 15 per cent. upon an average, as now proposed.

Here is an admission that his tariff act—for which, as we have seen, the Democrats voted so strongly—contemplates an average reduction of about 15 per cent., with a further future reduction of more than twice that amount, when, if ever, both branches of Congress pass under Democratic control. The "little longer continuation" of the "favor" of the 15 per cent. reduction plainly refers to that period, should it ever, unfortunately for our manufacturing industries and the people who get their daily bread by them, arrive. The only hope then for our home industrial interests, to avoid the widespread ruin not alone contemplated but thus directly avowed by the Democratic party as a part of their policy, is to remit their Congressional candidates to private life.

Another Vote Showing the Antipathy of Democracy to Labor.

Another very instructive vote was that which was cast in the House December 1, 1877, than which nothing could more forcibly prove the real antagonism of the Democratic leaders to the artisan, the mechanic, and the laborer, and their dislike of that system of protection which the Republican party has always afforded to the American workingman by protecting the manufacturing interests which employ him, against the foreign manufacturer. At that date, upon a resolution offered by Mr. Mills, a Democrat, instructing the Committee on Ways and Means "to so revise the tariff as to make it purely and solely a tariff for revenue," and not for protection, the vote stood: yeas, 67; nays, 76. Of the 67 yeas, 60 were Democratic, and only 7 Republican. Of the 76 nays, 54 were Republican, and only 12 Democratic.

Following are the names of the Democrats who voted for this anti-protective resolution:

Messrs. H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Boone, Bragg, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell,

W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clark, jr., Cobb, Cravens, Culberson, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Elam, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, Hartzell, Hatcher, House, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, Robertson, Saylor, Scales, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Throckmorton, R. W. Townshend, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis,

PART III.

• Still Another Vote Showing Democratic Antagonism to the Hon st Workingmen and to Industrial Enterprises in America.

November 17, 1877, Mr. Swann (Democrat) moved to proceed to the consideration of House joint resolution appropriating \$200,000 to pay expenses necessary to a proper exhibit of the industrial products of the United States at the Paris International Industrial Exposition of 1878.

Mr. Buckner (Democrat) raised the question of consideration, which was decided affirmatively by 144 yeas to 123 nays. (See "McPherson's Handbook for 1878," pp. 169-170.)

There were only 32 Democrats voting yea, and 111 Democrats voting nay. Of the Republicans 112 voted yea and 12 nay.

November 20, 1877, the joint resolution passed by yeas 139, nays 125—only 25 Democrats voting yea, and 116 Democrats voting nay; while 114 Republicans voted yea, and only 9 Republicans voted nay. Following is the Democratic vote in opposition to the resolution:

NAYS—Messrs. Atkins, Banning, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, jr., Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. B. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Herbert, House, Hunton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Knapp, Knott, Ligon, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Quinn, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. Y. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Robertson, Saylor, Scales, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Throckmorton, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Whitthorne, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. Wilson, Wright, Yeates, Young—125.

November 30, 1877.—The Senate, after amending, passed the House measure, by 36 yeas to 20 nays. The yeas com-

prised 27 Republicans and 9 Democrats; the nays 2 Republicans and 18 Democrats.

December 14, 1877.—The House agreed to the amendments of the Senate, by 124 yeas to 91 nays. The yeas comprised 92 Republicans and 32 Democrats; the nays, 9 Republicans and 82 Democrats.

These votes show that the Democrats were overwhelmingly opposed to such an exhibit of American industrial products at the World's Fair as would be creditable to us as a nation, and which would bring to our factories and to laboring men the work which they so sadly need. The Republicans are, by the same votes, shown to be deeply in sympathy with any honest effort to help the laboring men and producers of the land.

Republican sympathy for the workingmen
—Democratic scoffs at the "Mudsills"—
The free school system.

The Republican party has always believed in and acted upon a humanitarian creed. They have believed that business could be transacted as correctly by men with human sympathies as by those who sneered at what they termed "sentimentalism." The Democratic leaders have always scoffed at the idea that Government should, even incidentally, consider the woes and sufferings of the multitude; or, as a Democratic Senator once termed them, "the mudsills of society." The Republican party has cherished the free school system, where the workingman's children are freely educated, and thus afforded an opportunity of elevating themselves in after life to place and power in both social and political spheres. The Democratic party has not been kindly to that free school system.

Democratic nostrums for present ills—
What workingmen think of them—
Republican efforts to solve the labor problem.

Many nostrums are prescribed by Democratic quacks to remedy the ills to which labor is subjected in its struggle with capital. These are rejected by the workingmen themselves. The Republican party has no infallible plan to propose; but it calls on the laboring men themselves to set their best minds to work to co-operate with it in reaching a true solution of the problem, and to co-operate in the selection of candidates for place in the National Councils. Farmers, miners, mechanics, workingmen, and the sons of workingmen, have sat in the Senate and House of Representatives by Republican suffrages.

They know from all past experience that in the Republican party, if they cannot always get immediate relief, they are at least certain to find sincere desire and honest effort to elevate humanity and help the laboring interest.

PART IV.

The Republican Homestead Act—Democratic Opposition to it—The Votes by which the Republicans Secured it to the People.

In the matter of homesteads the Republican party has been a benefactor to the poor man, while the Democratic party has either opposed or given a half and half support. The homestead act of 1862 was one of the wisest and most beneficent of measures. Prior to that year the system of selling large tracts of our public lands to speculators and non-residents had prevailed. This policy was declared by a Republican to be "the direst curse which has ever been inflicted on the West, and has done more to retard the growth and improvement of that section of our country than all other causes combined." Those evils being recognized by the nation, the loyal States by unparalleled Republican majorities declared that they should cease to exist. By the votes of Republican Representatives in the Republican House, by Republican National and State platforms, by Republican pledges, over and over again, the people had demanded such a measure. Several times before 1862 it had passed the Republican House, only to be strangled in the Democratic Senate. But now the time had come when something could be done for the actual settler upon our public lands. The Executive office and both branches of Congress were now controlled by Republicans, who had pledged themselves to do what the actual settler asked—the following being the words of of that pledge:

Resolved, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House.—*See Chicago Platform, 1860.*

The Republicans being thus in full control of the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government, accordingly, early in 1862, pressed through both Houses the well known Homestead act, which has

been such a blessing to our people and our country. It grants 160 acres to every actual settler 21 years or more of age, or head of a family who is, or has declared his intention to become, a citizen. That is its main feature, independent of the grant of 160 acres to every person, whether naturalized or not, and whether of age or not, who enlisted in the military service to crush the rebellion.

This noble Republican provision for actual settlers met with considerable Democratic opposition in 1862 before it could be put upon the statute book.

The vote by which it passed the House, February 28, 1862, was 114 yeas to 18 nays. Of the yeas there were 92 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a proportion of over 4 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the bill; of the nays there were 3 Republicans and 15 Democrats, a proportion of 5 Democrats to 1 Republican against the bill.

The vote by which it passed the Senate May 6, 1862, was even more significant.

It stood, yeas 33 to nays 7. Of the yeas 30 were Republican to 3 Democratic; of the nays 6 were Democratic to 1 Republican. Thus the vote showed a proportion of 10 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the Homestead bill, and 6 Democrats to 1 Republican opposed to it.

Had they the power of numbers it is hardly necessary to say the Democrats would have killed the Homestead act of 1862, as they had done in previous years to similar measures.

Extending the Homestead Act—Democratic Opposition and Votes.

In the House, February 8, 1866, a bill was passed extending the provisions of the Homestead act to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. The vote by which it passed was 112 yeas to 29 nays—all the nays being Democrats except two. The names of these Democrats are:

T. G. Bergen, B. M. Boyer, James Brooks, John W. Chanler, John L. Dawson, Chas. A. Eldridge, Wm. E. Finck, A. J. Glossbrenner, Charles Goodyear, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, B. G. Harris, John Hogan, Jas. M. Humphrey, Michael C. Kerr, F. C. LeBlond, Samuel S. Marshall, John A. Nicholson, Samuel J. Randall, A. J. Rogers, George S. Shanklin, Chas. Sitgreaves, Myer Strouse, Stephen Taber, Nelson Taylor, Anthony Thornton, and Daniel W. Voorhees.

CHAPTER III.

Southern Claims.

PART I.

\$300,000,000 of Southern Public and Private Claims for Cotton, War Material, Captured and Abandoned Property, etc.

The New York *Tribune* of April 13, 1878, says:

The *Tribune* has already published a complete list of all bills introduced in Congress from the beginning of the session down to March 18 for the purpose of securing public improvements in the South. These public claims reach the enormous aggregate of \$192,000,000. The *Tribune* has since caused to be prepared a complete list of all bills introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives from the beginning of the session down to March 26, presenting private claims. Of these there are nine hundred and eight, of which four hundred and seventy-seven ask for sums less than \$10,000. These four hundred and seventy-seven bills, there is not space to print in full, but their total is \$1,010,000. Of the remaining four hundred and thirty-one private bills, three hundred and twenty—more than one-third of the whole number introduced—are altogether vague, neither stating nor hinting at the amount to which claim is made. This very vagueness is suspicious, and suggests the magnitude of the sum expected. It is certainly fair, however, to suppose that the average amount of these indefinite claims is at least as large as those asking for a definite sum. Upon this basis the aggregate of these three hundred and twenty blind asking claims is \$3,500,000. There are one hundred and eleven bills asking for \$10,000 or more each, making an aggregate of \$5,747,793. The least amount, therefore, asked for by private Southern claims introduced in Congress from the beginning of the session to March 26, is \$10,247,793. The bills introduced down to March 18 for public improvements in the South call for \$192,000,000. The South, therefore, thus far in a single session, has made demands upon the National Treasury for at least \$202,000,000.

Judge Bartley's Figures Compared with those of the Tribune.

That this estimate is far below the actual amount for which the South has asked, the counsel for a large number of claimants has already taken pains to prove. Judge T. W. Bartley has published in a Washington paper a long letter in regard to three large classes of claims now before Congress. He divides these claims into three principal classes and makes the following estimates:

Amount of cotton tax.....	\$83,000,000
Balance of captured and abandoned property.....	14,000,000
Army supply claims.....	20,000,000

Grand total \$117,000,000

If Judge Bartley's figures are taken in the

place of the quiet and modest estimates which the *Tribune* has made, the aggregate (1) of the claims for railroads and other public improvements, and (2) of private claims for cotton, war material, captured and abandoned property, &c., will be more than \$300,000,000, instead of \$202,000,000.

The list of private claims presented in each House, exclusive of those in which the sum specified is less than \$10,000, is presented herewith:

Here follows the long list, giving the number of each bill, its introducer, its title, and the amount asked for by claimant—for which, in full, see speech in the House May 1, 1878, made by Hon. Philip C. Hayes, of Wisconsin. It ends with the following

RECAPITULATION.

Sum of House bills asking for \$10,000 or more.....	\$4,926,793
Sum of Senate bills asking for \$10,000 or more.....	821,000
Total.....	5,747,793
Sum of amounts less than \$10,000.....	1,010,000
Total of amounts carried out.....	6,757,793
Least sum to be added for blanks.....	3,500,000
Least sum called for by private bills.....	10,257,793
Total amount of public claims.....	192,000,000
Grand total of Southern claims.....	202,000,000
Approximate grand total on the basis of Judge Bartley's estimates of private claims.....	300,000,000

PART II.

Rebel Claims Demanded as a Matter of "Justice and Right" —All Property Destroyed by both Armies Must be Paid For —Demand that Rebel Soldiers or their Heirs "be Paid in Bonds or Public Lands for their Lost Time, Limbs, and Lives!"

In his speech, above alluded to, Mr. Hayes, after quoting the aforesaid list, says:

* * * * Here are demands made upon us for over \$300,000,000. Doubtless many of these claims are just and should be allowed, but the great majority of them are not entitled to even a hearing. * * * * Having shown the magnitude of these claims, I wish to say that the general sentiment throughout the South is that

these claims ought to be paid. Indeed, sir, the Southern people seem determined that they shall be paid. * * * * As a matter of policy the leaders in the South will tell you that they do not expect payment, but when they talk as they feel you will find that nine out of every ten of them hold to the idea that the Government, if it had any respect for justice, would have paid these claims long ago. Why, sir, the idea that the Government owes and ought to pay all damages occasioned by the war throughout the South is so firmly imbedded in the Southern mind that it will take several generations to root it out. No man, I care not how great his ability, can be a leader among the Southern people unless he openly indorses this idea. There is not a Southern gentleman on this floor who would not be overwhelmingly defeated at the coming election if he should dare to stand up here and declare that these claims ought not to be paid. * * * * No man can be elected to any office in that section who dares to proclaim himself opposed to paying these Southern claims. Men who expect to succeed politically must be in harmony with their people in this respect. * * * * They hold to the idea that the Government is under obligation to pay them. They go so far as to declare that the claims for captured and abandoned property and for private property taken by the Union army in the way of supplies constitute a part of the war debt of the nation.

Judge Bartley's "little pamphlet" again—Rebel forage claims, &c., "as just and valid a lien upon the Treasury as the bonded debt itself"—only more so.

Indeed, Judge Bartley, whose little pamphlet was distributed so freely among members of this body a few days ago, argues that the property taken for the subsistence of the Union Army saved the Government from raising money on the sale of its bonds in the sums represented by the value of the property seized and used, and that the claims for the payment for this property are as just and as valid a lien upon the Treasury as the bonded debt itself. In fact, he thinks they should take precedence of the bonded debt in equity, because that debt draws interest, while the claims do not. The Judge presents his case in the strongest light possible, and closes his pamphlet of twenty pages with the following significant paragraph: "The foregoing views are expressed on mature consideration from a sense of duty to several hundred citizens of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, represented by the undersigned as their counsel. The positions assumed can and will be maintained and cannot be successfully controverted in or out of Congress. If the plain language used is expressive of some feeling, it arises simply from a deep sense of the wrong and injustice done to injured parties, and is not intended to be discourteous, but in all due deference and respectful regard for the public authorities."

Dr. J. F. Foard's pamphlet—The wounds of the war—The easiest and best way to heal them is to compensate those who lost so much in the conflict."

Only a few days ago I received a pamphlet written by Dr. J. F. Foard, of North Carolina, in which the writer discusses this subject at some length, declaring that the Government should pay these claims as a matter of justice and right. After devoting several pages to setting forth the losses sustained by the Southern people, he uses these words: "The easiest and best way to heal them"—the wounds made by the war—"is to compensate those who lost so

much in the conflict." In a subsequent chapter he says:

"Let us go at this work promptly, earnestly, and honestly, that it may be as a monument of truth and justice, erected in the hearts of our children to remind them of the importance of national honor, peace, and good will."

Southern Memorial to pay all rebel losses in 3 per cent. 100 year bonds!—Lost time, lost limbs, lost lives, all to be paid for to make up for the "Lost Cause."

The last page of his (Foard's) book contains the following, which will be read with great interest, especially by the Union men of the North:

That co-operative action be had in this matter, a form of a memorial to Congress is appended to these pages. Let every one who feels an interest in the great work copy and obtain the signatures of his neighbors to it, and inclose it to one of our Senators or Representatives in Congress as early as practicable, and urge its adoption:

FORM OF A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

STATE OF ———, County of ———, 187—. To the honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

We, the citizens of the United States, most respectfully petition your honorable bodies to enact a law by which all citizens of every section of the United States may be paid for all their property destroyed for them by the governments and armies of both sides during the late war between the States, in bonds bearing 3 per cent. interest per annum, maturing within the next hundred years.

And we also petition that all soldiers, or their legal representatives, of both armies and every section, be paid in bonds or public lands for their lost time, limbs, and lives, while engaged in the late unfortunate civil conflict. And we will ever pray.

PART III.

A Specimen Brick of Southern Claims—Its Bogus character and Wonderful Growth.

To show how some of these Southern claims are made up, the following "specimen brick" is given from the *New York Tribune* of July 4, 1878:

WASHINGTON, July 3.—The following claim is given as a specimen product of one of the great industries of the section of country which was lately in rebellion: In 1873 Mrs. Eliza Heber appeared before the Southern Claims Commission, in this city, with a bill of losses and damages alleged to have occurred on her plantation at or near Indian Village, Plaquemine Parish, La., while occupied by the troops of General Payne. She alleged that that officer took from her for the use of his men and allowed to be destroyed property as enumerated in the following list:

8,000 bbls. corn, at \$1.50 per bbl.....	\$12,000
100 chickens, at \$1 each.....	100
200 turkeys, at \$2 each.....	400
30 hogs, at \$10 each.....	300
8 oxen, at \$50.....	400
5 horses, at \$160.....	800
4 mules, at \$125.....	500
Unknown quantity of lumber, consisting of hoghead-staves, pickets and posts....	5,000

500 cords of wood, at \$6 per cord..... 3,000

Making a total of.....\$22,500

After filing the claims Mrs. Heber presented the affidavits of several colored persons, who, not being able to write, made their marks as signatures to the statements which they contained. The commissioners, having doubts about the validity and honesty of the claim, sent an agent to Plaquemine parish to investigate the matter. He reported that the claim was fictitious and fraudulent, and the claimant took no further steps in regard to prosecuting the claim before the commission. Later, when the Democrats obtained control of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Heber appeared with her claim before that body, but in the meantime it had grown to \$47,975, with items enumerated as follows:

8,000 bbls. corn, at \$2 50 per barrel.....	\$20,000
1,500 cords wood at \$4.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cord.....	7,000
1 lot of lumber, staves, pickets, &c.....	10,000
1 pair carriage horses at \$500 each.....	1,000
3 riding horses at \$300.....	900
4 mules at \$300.....	1,200
30 hogs at \$30.....	900
5 choice milch cows.....	375
20 head of cattle.....	500
1 lot of poultry.....	100
Fencing and plantation destroyed.....	6,000

Total.....\$47,975

During the second session of the Fort-fifth Congress John W. Caldwell, from the Committee on War Claims, in the House, to which committee this claim had been referred, submitted a report to accompany House bill 3293, saying "that Mrs. Eliza Heber should be paid as full compensation for all her claims for the property and supplies taken and used as aforesaid the sum of \$23,150," and the committee reported a bill for that purpose, and recommended its passage. The principal proof in support of this claim was in affidavits made by the same persons who had testified before the Southern Claims Commission. The fictitious character of the claim was made known to Secretary Sherman by the officers of the secret service, and he directed that efforts be made to prevent its passage in the House. An agent of the Government was sent to Indian Village, the residence of Mrs. Heber, and took the affidavits of several respectable citizens, all of whom testified that the claim was dishonest; that Mrs. Heber did not own more than forty acres of land, and that only one half of that could be cultivated, as the remainder was under water most of the time. General Payne said that he was in command of less than 2,000 infantry, and was encamped only two weeks in the vicinity of the claimant. He said that it would have been an utter impossibility for his men in the warm climate of Louisiana to have burned 1,500 cords of wood or to have consumed 20,000 bushels of corn. The bill is still before the House.

PART IV.

\$400,000,000 more—Compensation for Slaves Demanded.

The South is determined to have compensation for its emancipated slaves to the tune of \$400,000,000. One of the latest utterances on the subject is that of the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph and Messenger*—a leading organ in the cotton States—as follows:

Those slaves were not cannon and bayonets and armed foes in the late so-called rebellion, and in no sense "contraband." They were our property, solemnly and specifically recognized

as such, and duly protected and guaranteed by that Constitution and Union which our adversaries alleged they took up arms to maintain and keep intact and defend. Moreover, they took no part in that fratricidal struggle, save when forced to join the ranks of the invader and wage war against their best friends and benefactors. On the banditti principle that "might makes right," and to the "victor belongs the spoils" only, therefore, can this robbery of an impoverished people be justified.

We cannot but indulge the hope that when we have helped to extinguish the public debt, and time has healed the gaping wounds of the past, when reason and brotherly love shall have fully gained the ascendancy over prejudice and hate, even though it shall be the next generation, a brave and honorable people of the same blood and lineage will see to it that the value of our property in slaves shall be returned to those from whom it was wrongfully wrested. It will do no harm to keep this question before the people, that they may preserve the records and proper memoranda of their former slaves in the event that a returning sense of justice on the part of the Federal Government may compensate them, at least in part, for the loss of this portion of their rightful property.

PART V.

A Brief Review of Some of the Rebel Claims—Direct Tax—Cotton Tax—Special Relief—Destruction of Property—Compensation for Slaves—Rebel Mail Contractors, &c—They Already Reach Three Thousand Millions of Dollars—"Where will It End?"

In a letter as late as October 31, 1873, but published, we believe in 1876, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, an United States Senator from that State prior to the rebellion, and now, as then, a great man in the Confederacy, elaborates a plan by which the old slaveholder may evade the prohibitory clause of the fourteenth amendment respecting indemnity for slaves liberated by the war.

How Hunter Proposes to Get Around the Fourteenth Amendment and Reimburse the Old Slaveholders for the Loss of their Slaves—\$400,000,000.

Hunter's sagacity is only equalled by his loyalty. The fourteenth amendment abolishes an "institution" of the Confederacy. It expels the last vestige of slavery from its soil and prohibits all compensation for slaves freed by the war. But the astute Hunter discovers that the prohibitory clause is unconstitutional, and therefore nugatory. The slaves were private property; their forcible emancipation was in the nature of seizing that property for public use without compensation; that the claim is in the individual owner; that the States in the ratification

of the fourteenth amendment, had no power or right to divert it, and that consequently the owners of that property under the Constitution have valid or *bona fide* claims for reasonable compensation, to-wit—\$400,000,000.

Maryland Formally Asserts Her Claim for Such Compensation—Other Slave States Have Official Lists of Slaves, Only Awaiting Democratic Ascendancy.

But a discovery so sagacious was not original with the astute Hunter. As early as 1867, in the Maryland constitutional convention, he was anticipated by the equally sapient conventionists. They formally asserted the claim under the constitution. They authorized the Legislature of Maryland to receive and dispose of the amounts due to their old slaveholding citizens when paid by the United States, and notoriously, in that as in other of the old slaveholding States, lists of the slaves emancipated have been prepared, and the claims covering their value only await for their payment the harvest of wholesale plunder when the Democracy shall pass into power.

The Missouri "Climax of Rapacity"—Claimants Furnished Official Certificates of Losses by Rebel Raids—Democracy, When in Power Will pay them.

But in Missouri the climax of rapacity in proposed plunder has been reached. It is, however, only preliminary—only a precedent—for further wholesale or general spoliation. In Missouri, a State commission has investigated and official certificates have been awarded to all claimants for compensation for losses incurred or supplies taken by the rebel forces which overran its territory, and these certificates, as the claims for indemnity for slaves, only await the success of the Democracy to be promptly honored by the Government.

Bills already introduced in Congress as precedents for these monstrous claims.

Indeed, as precedents for their payment, two bills, in the Forty-fourth Congress, were introduced by Messrs. Knott, of Kentucky, and House, of Tennessee, appropriating small amounts for property and supplies seized by the rebel forces, and if they are passed or recognized by Congress, and should the nation be again inflicted with a Democratic Administration, Missouri and every State South will realize the prodigious amounts these claims will involve.

The Aggregate of Rebel claims, thus far known, \$2,985,554,827.

What amount these Missouri claims have reached we do not know, but the

known aggregate so far of rebel claims actually presented or demanded is really appalling! Already it equals \$2,985,554,827, to wit:

Refunding direct tax of 1861.....	\$2,492,110
Refunding cotton tax, principal and interest.....	170,180,220
Special relief bills (Forty-fourth Congress).....	2,181,497
Use and destruction of property, and supplies destroyed or used by Union forces in the Confederate States	2,410,326,000
Compensation for slaves.....	400,000,000
Payment of rebel mail-contractors up to July 1, 1861.....	375,000
	\$2,985,554,827

In round numbers \$3,000,000,000! A prodigious sum, and still increasing! Where will it end?

PART VI.

Claim of the College of William and Mary—One of the Entering Wedges.

In the House of Representatives, October 29, 1877, Mr. Goode, (Democrat,) of Virginia, introduced the following bill:

Be it enacted, &c., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, the sum of \$65,000, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to reimburse said college for the destruction of its buildings and other property destroyed without authority by disorderly soldiers of the United States during the late war: *Provided,* That no moneys be so paid except upon accounts of such destruction, and the damage caused thereby, duly verified and proven.

The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and December 5, 1877, was committed to the Committee of the Whole. There was considerable debate upon this bill, and it became evident that the ex-Confederate element were determined to force it through.

Considerations of Party Policy

induced a postponement of the measure until after the Congressional elections, as it was feared by the Democrats that further discussion at that time would bring defeat to them in the close districts. Frantic appeals were made to the "Southern brethren" not at this time to press the bill, and Bragg, a Democratic Representative from Wisconsin, in a speech delivered May 1, 1878, (see *Congressional Record*,) entreated them thus:

A Northern Democrat's Prayer to the Rebs.

I appeal to my Southern friends on this side of the House, will you deliberately rake the ashes off the slumbering embers, and fan them

into a blaze again? I believe in my heart you will not. But I am bound to tell you, and I do it in kindness. * * * The people of the North will never submit to be taxed to reimburse your people or your States out of the National Treasury for any losses that they sustained, directly or indirectly, from the rebellion. * * * There may be men in the North—their voice has been heard on this floor speaking words of encouragement to you in presenting claims like this one for reimbursement: but it is no true expression of Northern sentiment; they are the words of a siren that lures to death. You heard them and trusted them in 1860 and 1861: will you trust them again now?

Bragg Shows up the Rebel-Breeding Rebellion-helping College.

He showed, plainly enough, too, that the act of destruction was perpetrated by rebel soldiers, not by those of the Union; that it was settled by an American Congress in 1797 "that the loss of houses, and other sufferings by the general ravages of war, have never been compensated by this or any other Government," ("American State Papers," Claims, page 199,) and that, in any event, "the College of William and Mary forfeited any right which she may have had as an educational institution sacred from the touch of war, by becoming herself an engine of war, an active participant in the rebellion. She not only sent her pupils to the red field of battle with words of encouragement and blessing, but she banished the muses from her groves, threw wide open her gates, and made her venerable halls barracks for soldiery to destroy the Government from which now in all humility she asks recompense. I do not state this too strongly; the report shows that before the footsteps of a Northern soldier darkened her halls they had been converted into barracks and a hospital in aid of the rebellion. * The learned faculty cannot plead ignorance of consequences in case of failure, but they never counted failure among the possibilities."

"Policy, Me Boy, Policy"—"The Good Time Coming" when Democrats like Bragg will be Kicked.

When a Northern Democrat like Bragg felt impelled to talk to his Southern friends in this manner, it became evident enough that the vote must be postponed until after the fall elections. On the 10th of May, therefore, Mr. Goode moved that the bill be passed over, and after persistent questioning stated that he did not expect to press the bill any further at that session. This means that it will come up next session, and that then it will pass—unless the people rebuke the Democratic party at the polls. Bragg—who was it declared that "*Brag is a good dog*"?—had a clear

comprehension of the scope of this inoffensive-looking bill when he exclaimed, in the same speech:

It matters not if I am called a bigot or fanatic, I maintain that this bill is a crafty device to foist upon us Southern war claims as skillfully planned and as certain in results as the wooden horse that carried woe and ruin within the walls of far-famed Troy.

The amount proposed to be given is not large, but the shadow it casts before it is large enough to darken the land.

A scattering Northern Democrat, like Bragg, here and there, will of course be absolutely powerless to resist the behests of a Democratic caucus, controlled by Southern men; and the only safety is to elect a Republican majority in the next House of Representatives.

PART VII.

Fraudulent Claims of Southern Mail Contractors—How the Democrats Strove to Steal One Million Dollars, and How the Republicans Stopped the Steal—Propositions and Votes in Both Houses.

Until recently the following section of the Revised Statutes has been a national breastwork against which the horde of rebel claimants dashed in vain:

SECTION 3490. It shall be unlawful for any officer to pay any account, claim or demand against the United States which accrued or existed prior to the 13th day of April, 1861, in favor of any person who promoted, encouraged, or in any manner sustained the late rebellion, or in favor of any person who, during such rebellion, was not known to be opposed thereto, and distinctly in favor of its suppression; and no pardon heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted shall authorize the payment of such account, claim, or demand, until this section is modified or repealed. But this section shall not be so construed to prohibit the payment of claims founded upon contracts made by any of the Departments, where such claims were assigned or contracted to be assigned prior to the 1st day of April, 1861, to the creditors of such contractors, loyal citizens of loyal States, in payment of debts incurred prior to the 1st day of M-reb, 1861.

In the confusion and excitement attending the close of the Forty-fourth Congress, in a "gush of conciliation,"

An Amendment to the Act of March 3, 1877,

was rushed through. It provides:

That the sum of \$375,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be appropriated to pay the amount due to mail contractors for mail service performed in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, and before the said States respectively engaged in war against the United States; and the provision of section 3490 of the Revised Statutes

of the United States shall not be applicable to the payments therein authorized: *Provided, That any such claims which have been paid by the Confederate States Government shall not be again paid.*

Sherman's Sturdy Stand against Fraud.

Secretary Sherman, suspecting fraud, inexorably demanded that all the claims of Southern mail contractors coming within the scope of this law, must first be presented and adjusted, so that if, as he believed, the appropriation was insufficient for full payment, what there was might be paid out *pro rata*. This gave time for investigation, but greatly exasperated these rebel claimants.

Reagan's Joint Resolution to Let the Thieves Get at the Treasury.

November 16, 1877, in the House, a joint resolution (introduced by Mr. Reagan, Democrat, and ex-rebel Postmaster-General,) was reported back in the following words:

*Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury shall begin at once to pay in full to the late mail contractors of the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, their heirs or legal representatives, the amounts due under their respective contracts for the years eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, eighteen hundred and sixty, and eighteen hundred and sixty-one; and the appropriation of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, made by act approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, shall be immediately available for said payments: *Provided, That payments shall be made for services rendered up to May thirty-first, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, when discontinuance was ordered by the Postmaster General, and not thereafter; and the provisions of section thirty-four hundred and eighty of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not be applicable to the payments herein authorized. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.**

The rebel claimants, it will be observed, were in an impatient and mandatory mood, "The Secretary *shall* begin at once to pay in full, &c. They had yet to learn 'to labor and to wait.' They wanted the \$375,000 at once, on the principle of "first come first served," each case to be paid in full, just so far as the money would go, and were quite willing to trust the claims remaining unpaid to future appropriations.

The Debate—Ex-Confederate Postmaster General Reagan Makes Strong Assertions.

The debate which followed, (February 15, 1878.)—in which Messrs. Reagan, (Democrat,) of Virginia, and Money, (Democrat,) of Mississippi, were most prominent in behalf of the "stand-and-deliver" joint resolution aforesaid—was

very able on both sides, and subsequent revelations developed that on one side it was pre-eminently crafty and deceitful.

On the 8th March, after a three-weeks' opportunity to verify his facts, Mr. Reagan reiterated in part, and until the exposure was made retreated from none of his former statements, that, as the ex-Postmaster General of the rebel Confederacy, he was well satisfied that the Confederate Government had paid none of these claimants—had compelled them to account to the United States for all the moneys and stamps in their possession up to May 31, 1861. And he again urged the payment of these claimants for their services up to that date as a debt due on principles of morality and public law—"accounts for the adjustment of which authority should be given."

The Astounding Developments from the Rebel Archives—The Proofs of Fraud Stamped All Over These Claims.

But it happens that the archives of the rebel Government are in the War Department at Washington, and Messrs. Conger and Willits, Republican Representatives from Michigan, devoted the intervening time—as Reagan might have done—to looking up the facts touching these claims. These facts, in brief, are as follows:

In proclamations, dated respectively Montgomery, Ala., May 13 and 20, 1861, and signed by "John H. Reagan, Postmaster General," all postmasters, route and special agents, all mail contractors, mail messengers, and special contractors are required to retain in their possession, and turn over to the Confederate Postmaster General, the said John H. Reagan, for the benefit of the Confederate States, all revenue or moneys which shall have accrued from the postal service of the United States prior to the 1st of June, 1861—all mail-bags, locks and keys, marking and other stamps, blanks for quarterly returns of postmasters, and all other property belonging to or connected with the postal service.

In a statement of Auditor Baker, of the Confederate Post Office Department, of October 1, 1862, the aggregate of these claims of contractors for mail services prior to May 31, 1861, is given at \$773,441.17. By Confederate laws, approved respectively August 30, 1861, January 23, 1862, and September 27, 1862, these claims are assumed by the Confederate Government, \$800,000 are appropriated for their payment, and contractors were required, in receiving their payments, to agree that if the United States should ever pay them anything for these services they should refund it to the Confederate Government.

All these facts, so violently in conflict with Mr. Reagan's statements in the House, are fully verified by his own several reports as Confederate Postmaster General up to that of May 2, 1864—the last which could be found—with the further fact that at that date, of the claims for which he is now urging an appropriation of \$375,000 by the United States, he had himself paid \$564,544.22, and the presumption that during the remaining eleven months of the Confederacy every dollar of them had been paid.

Effect, on the House and on the country—
The enacting clause stricken out—The
vote.

The statement of these facts fell like a bombshell in the House and startled the entire North. On the 16th March, 1878, Reagan's joint resolution was reported back to the House from Committee of the Whole, with the enacting clause stricken out.

Mr. Eden (Democrat) having demanded the previous question, which was seconded and the main question ordered, the question was upon agreeing to the report.

Mr. Waddell (Democrat) moved to reconsider the vote by which the main question had been ordered, which motion was disagreed to by 78 yeas to 131 nays.

Whereupon, without a division, the report was agreed to, and the bill was dead.

The vote upon Mr. Waddell's motion to reconsider shows two Republicans (from Southern and border States) voting yea, and 102 Republicans voting nay, while 76 Democrats voted yea and only 29 Democrats voted nay. In detail, it is as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Bliss, Boone, Bridges, Brogden, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Chalmers, J. B. Clarke, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Dibrell, Durham, Eden, Etam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Henkle, Henry, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, J. T. Jones, Kimmell, Knott, Ligon, Martin, McKenzie, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Quinn, Rea, Reagan, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Seales, Schleicher, Shelley, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Thornburgh, Throckmorton, Tucker, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. Wilson, Yeates, Young—78.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Bayne, Benedict, Bicknell, Bisbee, Bouck, Boyd, Bragg, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Clafin, R. Clark, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, J. D. Cox, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dannel, Dwight, Eames, Ernst, J. L. Evans, E. B. Finley, Fort, Foster, Frye, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, B. W. Harris, Hart, Harvill, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazen, Henderson, A. S. Hewitt, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, G. M. Lownders, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Maish, Marsh, Mayham, McCook, McKinley, McMahon, Mitchell, Monroe, H. S. Neale, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, G. N. Potter, Pound, Price, Randolph, Reed, J. B. Reilly, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Shallenberger, Simickson, Swails, A. B. Smith, Starin, Steager, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Veeder, Wait, Warner, Watson, Welch, M. D. White, A. S. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, R. Williams, Willits, Wren, Wright—131.

PART VIII.

A Subsequent Assault on the Senate by the Southern Mail Contractors, but They are Finally Discomfited.

The following (see McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1878, pages 215, 216) is the history in brief of the attack made upon the Senate by the Southern Mail men after their ignominious defeat in the House:

Pending the Sundry Civil bill, 1878, June 18—Mr. Merrimon offered the following:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, instructed to pay according to the provision of the act approved March 3, 1877, the money appropriated by said act, to pay arrearages due to mail contractors for carrying the mail of the United States in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861.

Mr. Morrill moved to add as an amendment the words: "Provided, That this shall not be construed to repeal section 3480 of the Revised Statutes," which was rejected—yeas 24, nays 23:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, Davis, of Illinois, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Kirkwood, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—24.

NAYS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Morgan, Randolph, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Withers—23.

The motion of Mr. Merrimon was agreed to—yeas 28, nays 23:

YEAS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Morgan, Randolph, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Withers—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, Davis, of Illinois, Ferry, Hoar, Kirkwood, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—23.

Mr. Wadleigh moved to add these words:

Provided, however, That no payment shall be made to any contractor unless upon satisfactory proof that he has not heretofore been paid by the Confederate States Government.

Mr. Harris moved to add to the amendment of Mr. Wadleigh the words: "And the claimant shall be a competent witness to prove the fact," which Mr. Wadleigh accepted.

Which was agreed to.

Mr. Blaine moved to add:

And every claimant under this provision shall be required to give bond to the United States, with satisfactory security for the repayment of any sum which shall be subsequently proved to have been paid by the Confederate Government.

Mr. Johnston offered this substitute:

But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid, in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the Confederate States. This clause shall not apply to personal representatives or other fiduciaries."

This amendment was laid on the table—yeas 27, nays 22.

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Barnum, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Christiancy, Dawes, Dorsey, Eaton, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, Kernan, Kirkwood, McMillan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—27.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Coke, Conover, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Morgan, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Whyte, Withers—22.

A motion to lay on the table the motion of Mr. Blaine was lost—yeas 23, nays 26:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Coke, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Eustis, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, Maxey, Merrimon, Morgan, Saulsbury, Whyte, Withers—23.

NAYS—Messrs. Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Christiancy, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, Kernan, Kirkwood, Matthews, McDonald, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Voorhees, Wadleigh, Windom—26.

Mr. Blaine modified his amendment so as to read:

But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the so-called Confederate States government.

And it was agreed to, without a division.

Mr. HOAR offered this amendment, which was agreed to, without a division:

Provided, That any person who shall knowingly receive or attempt to obtain under the provisions of this section, any money from the Treasury of the United States on account of a claim which has once been paid, either by the so-called Confederate States or the United States, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 and by imprisonment not exceeding five years.

June 19—The section, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, instructed to pay, according to the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1877, the money appropriated by said act to pay arrearages due to mail contractors for carrying the mail of the United States in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861: *Provided, however*, That no payment shall be made to any contractor unless upon satisfactory proof that he has not heretofore been paid by the Confederate States government; and the claimant shall be a competent witness. But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the so-called Confederate States Government: *Provided*, That any person who shall knowingly receive or attempt to obtain, under the provisions of this section, any money from the Treasury of the United States on account of a claim which has once been paid, either by the so-called Confederate States or the United States, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 and by imprisonment not exceeding five years.

Was then adopted in the Senate—yeas 28 nays 24:

YEAS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Bruce, Butler, Christiancy, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Harris, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Morgan, Voorhees, Whyte, Withers—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, Davis of Illinois, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, McMillan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rol-

lins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—24.

The section was dropped in the Committee of Conference.

[NOTE.—Two things are to be specially observed here: First, the almost absolute unanimity of Democratic Senators in favor of paying these Southern mail contractors' claims, and the fact that with the exception of one Northern and three Southern Senators the Republicans were a unit against them; second, that this very unanimity among the Senate Democrats makes it probable that the House Democrats would have manifested a like spirit but for the fear of losing close districts at the fall elections. And doubtless this is why "the section was dropped in the Committee of Conference."]

PART IX.

Congress's Proposed Constitutional Amendment Prohibiting Payment of Rebel Claims—Vote Thereon—The Southern Democrats Would Pay Them, and so Record Themselves.

On the 19th of June, 1878, Mr. Conger (Republican) moved the House to suspend the rules and pass the following:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the payment of claims of disloyal persons for property injured or destroyed in the late war of the rebellion.

ARTICLE XVI.

No claim shall ever hereafter be allowed or paid by the United States, whether as damages or otherwise, for any property, real or personal, taken, used, injured, or destroyed by United States troops, or by or through any officer, civil or military, acting under or by authority of the United States, or from any other cause whatever, during the suppression of the late rebellion in any of the States that were in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or for any property taken, used, injured, or destroyed outside of the said States so in rebellion, and which belonged to persons residing in such rebellious States, unless the person or persons owning the property so taken, used, injured, or destroyed were, during all the time of such rebellion, loyal to the Government of the United States, and gave neither aid nor encouragement to the enemy.

After some delay and confusion, the rules were suspended, and the resolution passed by 145 yeas to 61 nays. The fact that only 43 Democrats voted for, and 61 Democrats voted against it, and that 102 Republicans voted for, and none against it, shows plainly enough what the Democratic party would do in the matter of rebel claims had they the power.

The Vote on Congress's Motion

was, in detail, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aldrich, Bacon, C. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bick-

nell, Blair, Bliss, Bouck, Boyd, Bragg, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Burdick, Butler, Cain, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, A. A. Clark, R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Cutler, H. Davis, De-n, Deering, Denison, Dickey, Dunsell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Gardner, Garfield, Glover, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Harmer, Hart, Hartzell, Haskell, Hazelton, Henderson, Hiseck, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, James, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Lapham, Lathrop, Loring, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Marsh, Mayham, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Morse, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Powers, Randolph, Reed, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, W. W. Rice, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, M. Ross, Ryan, Sapp, Sayler, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Springer, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, Strait, A. Townsend, H. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, Wait, W. Ward, Warner, Welch, M. D. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, K. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willis, Wren—145

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Boone, Bright, Cobbell, J. W. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eden, J. H. Evans, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Garth, Giddings, Goode, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hartridge, Henkle, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, Kenna, Knott, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, W. M. Robins, Robertson, Seales, Schleicher, Singleton, Throckmorton, L. B. Vance, Waddell, Whithorne, Wigginton, B. Wilson, Yates, Young—61

NOT VOTING—Messrs. J. H. Baker, Ballou, Bayne, Beebe, Benedict, Bisbee, Bland, Blount, Bridges, Brogden, Buckner, Bundy, H. C. Burghard, W. P. Caldwell, Camp, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Culberson, Dufford, Douglas, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Everett, Fort, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Gunter, Hale, B. W. Harris, Harrison, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Hendee, Henry, J. A. Hewitt, Ittner, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Killinger, Kimmel, Knapp, G. M. Landers, Lindsey, Lockwood, Maish, Martin, Money, Morgan, Pollard, C. N. Potter, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Rea, M. S. Robinson, Sampson, Shelley, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Steele, Stephens, J. C. Stone, Swann, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, M. I. Townsend, Tucker, Van Vorst, Veeder, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Watson, H. White, J. V. Williams, A. S. Willis, F. Wood, Wright—84.

The Solid South "In" for Rebel Claims—A Warning to the North.

It will be observed that of the 84 "not voting" 34 were *absent* Republicans and that 50 Democrats failed to vote whether present or not. The further fact that of the 61 Democrats who voted nay 52 are *Southern* Democrats, shows how solid the Southern States would stand against any such contemplated constitutional amendment, and how little chance it would have of getting the needed assent of three-fourths of the States.

The *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1878, in describing the incident, states that "the *joint resolution* which he (Conger) pre-

sented caused greater excitement than any other of the day or evening." * * *

"This record (the vote on Conger's joint resolution) will be a most instructive one and may open the eyes of the people of the North to what the ascendancy of the South in Congress may mean. Governor Tilden mortally offended the Democrats of the South in 1876 by his letter on Southern claims, and now the Representatives of that section have put themselves on the record in a negative way against placing any insuperable obstacle in the way of the payment of rebel claims."

PART X.

Possum Tilden's Pretended Attitude Touching Rebel Claims—His Duplicity—He Will Not Pay "Disloyal" Claims, but Holds that "We Are All Loyal Now"—Ex-Confederate Cabell's Ingenious Report Proving Rebel; "Loyalty"—Promised Action "after the Fall Elections."

It is generally believed that Tilden's letter declaring opposition to the payment of Southern claims made the South his enemy. It undoubtedly did for the time being, or, at least, the South pretended to so regard him. But, in view of the known cunning and duplicity of the "still-hunter" Tilden and the proverbial craft of the Southern leaders, a brief analysis of the most important paragraph of Tilden's letter on Southern claims may develop the cat in the meal tub. Tilden says:

No claim for any loss or damage incurred by *disloyal* persons, arising from the late war, whether covered by the fourteenth amendment or not, will be recognized or paid. The cotton tax will not be refunded. I shall deem it my duty to veto every bill providing for the assumption or payment of *any such* debts, losses, damages, claims, or for the refunding of any such tax.

But it is now pointed out that this extract is susceptible of two constructions—one for the people of the North, and another for the people of the South. In the North it is believed that he is opposed to the payment of all these claims. In the South the leaders at least know, as Tilden knew when he wrote the letter, that, if so disposed, should he ever reach power, he can favor the payment of all such claims without inconsistency. Tilden's adroitness and cunning in the manipulation of words is unequalled. He is opposed to and will not pay "all such debts, losses, damages," &c., "incurred by *disloyal* persons," he says. And

when he wrote the letter he had before him a report made by Mr. Cabell—Democrat and ex-rebel officer of Virginia—from the Committee on War Claims, June 30, 1876, to the Democratic House of Representatives, which report is intended to show that "we are all loyal now;" that when a Southern rebel claimant has been specially pardoned, or came within pardon or amnesty, under general proclamations or otherwise, the pardon or amnesty is retroactive, and is "equivalent to affirmative proof that the party never gave aid and comfort to the rebellion," and therefore never was "disloyal," and hence all the old rebels except Jeff Davis and a few others might come in under Tilden's declaration without fear; and in the same manner a Democratic Congress would justify itself in paying these thousands of millions.

The Pickrell & Broocks Claim—Report of the Democratic House Committee on War Claims to pay to these pardoned Rebels.

* * * Your committee are of opinion that said Pickrell and Broocks are entitled to and should be paid the proceeds of the tobacco taken from them at Wilmington, N. C., as aforesaid. Said tobacco was traced to New York, where sold, and from the mark and brands upon it each and every box was identified, and the returns made to the Treasury Department—copies of which have been received from the Department and examined—show not only the tobacco, but the price received therefor, and the amount covered into the Treasury.

Rebel "Inferences" from Supreme Court decisions—Pardon and amnesty affirmative proof of loyalty—The Government only a "Trustee" for the rebel claimant.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in *Patellord's case*, 9 Wallace, p. 531 &c., holds that pardon blots out not only the offense, but all the consequences thereof, and that the recipient of the pardon stands as if he had never committed an offense; in other words, that the proof of pardon and amnesty is the equivalent to affirmative proof under the statute of captured and abandoned property that the party never gave aid and comfort to the rebellion. Said decision also establishes the principle that, in reference to property situated as this, the United States Government stands in the position of a trustee for the owner. Another inference from the decision is, that it was competent to Congress to have passed an act covering the proceeds of captured property into the Treasury to be used in support of the war, but such was not done; therefore the court held that as to such captured or abandoned property the United States Government stood in the position of a trustee for the owner. In furtherance of this position, we find that the Supreme Court—in *re United States vs. Klein*, 13 Wall., 128—decided that "the act of March 12, 1863, (12 Stat. at Large, 82) to provide for the collection of abandoned and captured property in insurrectionary districts within the United States, does not confiscate, or in any case absolutely divest, the property of the original owner, even though disloyal. By the seizure the Government con-

stituted itself a trustee for those who were entitled, or whom it should thereafter recognize as entitled."

The Democratic Committee's Pro-Rebel "Conclusions"—The "Trustee" must Pay the Rebel Claims.

The two decisions quoted we think are decisive of this case, and force your committee to the conclusion that the Government now simply holds the proceeds of the tobacco taken from the possession of Pickrell & Broocks as trustees for the owners, and that such proceeds, less the costs attending the matter, should be paid over to said Pickrell & Broocks. To show that your committee have made no improper inference from the decision of the Supreme Court last cited, a reference is here made to the opinion of Justice Miller, who, dissenting from the majority of the Court, uses this language:

"If I understand the present opinion, however, it maintains that the Government, in taking possession of this property and selling it, became the trustee of all the former owners, whether loyal or disloyal, and holds it for the latter until pardoned by the President, or until Congress orders it to be restored to him." In this case T. T. Broocks, one of the parties claimant, received a special pardon from President Johnson, and Wilson Pickrell, an old man during the war, came within the several proclamations of amnesty and pardon granted by President Johnson since the war, as also within the provisions of the several laws passed by Congress in reference to such matters. The result that we are brought to is, that the net proceeds of this tobacco cannot be sued for by Pickrell & Broocks by reason of the bar of the statute of limitations, nor can the United States obtain any title to such proceeds, nor can the same be legally drawn from the Treasury by any one without an act of Congress for that purpose. Your committee, therefore report, recommending the passage of the accompanying bill directing the payment to Wilson Pickrell and T. T. Broocks, late partners as Pickrell & Broocks, of the sum of \$3,524.75, the net proceeds of the tobacco taken from them at Wilmington, N. C., which proceeds were covered into the Treasury, as hereinbefore stated.

These Rebel claims still before the House—To be acted on "after the fall elections."

Although this report was made at the first session, Forty-fourth Congress, it was thought prudent to let the matter rest awhile—as to press it while the Republicans so largely controlled the Senate would do the rebel claimants no practical good, and might awaken the North to a realization of the dangers ahead. The same parties—as well as many others of like ilk—however, have their rebel claims before the present House; and no doubt they will be favorably reported—after the fall elections. And if the next House is Democratic, all such rebel claims will go through the Democratic Congress flying. The only safety to the country is to elect a Republican House, which will be a check on the soon-to-be Democratic Senate in the matter of these claims—wherein the South proposes to "get even with the North"—and at the same time checkmate all of Tilden's revolutionary schemes.

CHAPTER IV.

The Revolutionary Acts and Purposes of the Democratic Party.

PART I.

Tilden's Threatened Revolution—Introduction to the evidences of Tilden's Contemplated high crime against the Republic—Brief Review of the Revolutionary Proceedings—Their remarkable growth—How a Minority can Overthrow a Government—Forceful illustration of the Dangers that Potte is Precipitating upon us—Plausible Pretexts for Revolution Always on Hand.

Revolutionists always have a plausible excuse for what they intend to do, whether the scene of operations be France, Mexico, or any other country, and that excuse is always to right some alleged wrong and restore to the dear people something which it is alleged they have lost. Most of the modern revolutions in republics have been brought about by the ambition of partizans on pretexts of falsehood to promote the selfishness of reckless and designing men. They have methods which bear a strong likeness to each other, and show that they all come of one family. The dear people have been robbed or cheated, and the disinterested patriot proposes to rally a force and set things right.

Louis Napoleon as the "People's Champion" and the "Imitator of Washington."

It is almost impossible to detect the real reason of the revolutionist at first. Louis Napoleon achieved his designs by pretending to be the champion of the people, and as president of the Republic made himself their master. He announced himself an imitator of Washington; whom he imitated with a vengeance.

Santa Anna's Pretext in 1828 a pretended Presidential Election Fraud.

Santa Anna took the field in the first instance, in the year 1828, on the pretext that the two votes by which Pedraza was declared elected president of Mexico over

Guerrero were fraudulently obtained, and the subsequent innumerable revolutions which have made a hell of that devoted country have been the legitimate offspring of the attempt by that scoundrel to avenge that pretended fraud. War, confusion, debt, anarchy, and despair have for fifty years been the annual product of the efforts of the Mexican-Tilden to set things right.

The Mexican-Tilden's "stock in trade"—What all the horrors of Revolutionary Mexico originally sprung from.

To annul the election of Pedraza because of a pretended fraud was the stock in trade of Santa Anna. All the horrors of Mexico have come from that, and revolution has become the chronic condition of Mexican society. The evil all grew out of a determination not to abide by a duly declared settlement of an election, by the constituted and legal authorities, in the mode and at the time and place fixed by the constitution and laws of the land.

Similar conditions, mode of action, and revolutionary designs as to the American Presidency.

The designs of the conspirators against our own President can be read by the similarity of the conditions and the mode of action. Hayes had but one majority, while Pedraza had two; but the closeness of the vote furnishes the pretext. Hayes was not accused of tyranny or tyrannical acts; he was not accused of seeking to injure or oppress any class of people; he was not charged with seeking to promote sectionalism, or strife, or party spirit, or discord. He was not charged with violating the laws or performing any arbitrary or indecent acts. The public mind had settled into the belief that he was duly declared elected, and as President, he was fairly and honestly performing his duty in a legal and constitutional way.

A review of the revolutionary movements since President's Hayes' accession.

There being no wrongful acts of the President, no oppression, no agitation of

the public mind, and no discontent or apprehension of trouble, it would seem at first thought that there could be no chance for the success of a conspiracy. Here and there, once in a while, perhaps, a bubble might come to the surface—only to burst. Three months after the inauguration there were mutterings and grumblings and even significant threatenings by Tilden and Dorsheimer at the Manhattan Club reception—a sort of ground swell as it were—but with that exception it might be said that eight months passed away without a ripple.

Tilden returns from Europe and the study of revolutionary plans in France—His first gun.

Then Tilden returned from Europe. He went away ill—too ill to rally and conduct a revolution. But rest and a sea voyage restored his vigor, and time to lay plans had been so improved that he was ready for the first step in imitation of Santa Anna. A serenade was instituted, and Tilden came out with a speech ostensibly to thank his friends for coming to greet him, but in reality to “fire the popular heart” and discharge the first gun in his campaign of revolution.

Samuel J. Tilden swears a tremendous oath!

In this speech he announced that “the people had been robbed;” that “robbery was a crime;” that it “must be avenged;” that, so help him God, “I swear in the presence of you all—and I call upon you to bear witness to the oath—to watch during the remainder of my life over the rights of the citizens of our country with jealous care;” and much of the same import, too tedious to quote.

Nobody stirs at the sound—Sammy plays “possum.”

The popular heart did not fire, notwithstanding this tremendous oath. There was no response, and “order reigned in Warsaw.” It became necessary to try some other plan, and Tilden was forced to play “possum” and make believe dead.

Tilden's grievance and the Mexican business—Maryland eats terrapin and sees spots in the sun.

The month of January came, and the various Democratic legislatures met, looked at the grievance of Tilden, and wisely concluded not to go into Mexican business this year—all but the Legislature of Maryland. The Legislature of Maryland has two distinctions not enjoyed by

any other. It was once bodily imprisoned for disloyalty by a National Union general—one George B. McClellan—and has for a member, Montgomery Blair. Such a Legislature could invent a grievance, if one could be invented, and they did. Blair, by a free use of champagne and terrapin, put through a resolution that the State had been cheated in the electoral count—the same language that Tilden had used—and the wrong must be redressed. This looked harmless and almost laughable. So does a cat sometimes when mice are near.

Mysterious conferences of Tildenites at Washington and New York—Speaker Randall captured—King caucus at work.

It looked as though legal proceedings were to be instituted in the courts. But wait a little. Some pork doesn't boil that way. Blair leaves Annapolis and comes to Washington. There are mysterious conferences and consultations, dodgings in and out by a brother of David Dudley Field, who is Tilden's engineer, and Clarkson N. Potter runs back and forth between Washington and Gramercy Park, and Speaker Randall is dragged into promising to rule in a motion of inquiry as a question of high privilege, the caucus is invoked, and all the party machinery is brought to bear to get passed a resolution of investigation.

Falseness and Duplicity of the Democratic Pretext for the Potter Investigation—Contradictory House Action as to Meddling with Hayes' Title—How Fright will Disguise Itself.

All this is done on the Mexican pretext that nothing is intended but the unearthing of a fraud; but see the falseness and duplicity. A motion is sought to be made to declare that it is not intended to question the title of Hayes, and it is squelched with yells, and the most talented, most distinguished, and one of the most venerable sages of the House is indecently hooted down, because the conspirators dare not trust their scheme to the test which is always applied to honest proceedings. The conspirators knew their scheme could not succeed if put to such a test, and so they choked the test and the mover by riot and Bedlamite howls. A few weeks later, however, the House got frightened into passing the resolution that the title of Hayes could not be meddled with, but if they were really of this opinion their howling it down at the start cannot be accounted for. Their intentions have not changed evidently, but they found it necessary to endeavor to conceal

them awhile longer, and hence the resolution was allowed to pass; but neither Potter, McMahon, S. S. Cox, Knott, Blackburn, Southard, Springer, nor A. S. Hewitt voted for it. It does not commit the next House.

The Hale amendment and Potter's Jesuitical Offer.

Mr. Hale made an offer to investigate Tilden's attempted frauds, and the conspirators, pretending to desire the evidence of fraud, voted it down. Mr. Potter pretended that he was willing to do this if Mr. Hale would say he had new evidence, but he well knew Mr. Hale and the Republicans had regarded the case as finally settled and had not been looking for new evidence, and had no occasion to connive with liars and perjurers to get a show of new evidence on which to hang a pretext of revolution, and knew they wouldn't had there been occasion.

What of the threatened Democratic revolution has thus far been developed plainly,

The facts and course of proceedings so far show :

1. That Tilden instigated the proceedings and has the guiding hand on the helm.

2. That the real aims of the conspirators are carefully sought to be concealed.

3. That the conspirators seek by illegitimate and riotous means to carry their points.

4. That the usual pretexts and concomitants which mark the courses and methods of revolutionists are manifest in the movements of the Blair and Tilden conspirators.

Can a Democratic minority overthrow a Government?—Revolutionary momentum—Member, 1861.

The conspirators know some things not appreciated by the people. The people imagine that the Government can be overthrown only by the majority, but Tilden knows that a few bad, cunning, and desperate men can so wield the masses that a revolution once started takes on a momentum entirely out of proportion to numbers or the merits of the case which they present. Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina were strong Union States from conviction in 1861; but the storm of revolution, once started, became a whirlwind, and the beggarly and contemptible minority swept the majority out of the Union in a twinkling, and thousands upon thousands of honest Union men carried rebel muskets through the war, or died fighting in a cause which they cordially hated and despised. Even Robert E. Lee was a Union man, but deluded with a no-

tion that he must follow his State. Now the delusion will be that they must follow their party, and so one and another have already been whipped in, and others will continue to be till the torch of revolution is lighted, and then the Mexican methods will be fairly inaugurated, and the end no man can see.

Nip it in the Bud—Three Revolutionary Constituents.

The only way to stop revolution is to nip it in the bud. At the commencement there are in revolutions three parties—those who are in the movement, those who oppose it, and those who think nothing will come of it. The first are usually a small minority; but the vicious classes in our cities, the fanatics, the soldiers of fortune, all instinctively rally to the support of any deviltry; the timid are scared in or into neutrality, and the desperadoes soon have their own way, and confusion, desolation, and destruction abound on every hand.

How France Was Strangled in One Night by one Weak, Shallow Man!—Our Greater Danger from the crafty, "Still-Hunting" Tilden—Tilden's Democratic Bon-Bons.

Victor Hugo has pronounced the French revolution of Louis Napoleon "the assassination of a people by one man." Yes, and that man was considered by most intelligent Frenchmen as weak, shallow, and so utterly wanting in heroic and magnetic qualities that they laughed at the idea of a *coup d'etat* down to the very night it was accomplished. Then, to their intense disgust, they found their throats grasped by the hand of the insignificant villain, and there was no help. The nation was strangled in a night, and to the surprise of everybody the assassin was supported and sustained by men of more ability than Montgomery Blair, and more character than Sam Randall and Clarkson Potter. Such scoundrels are always supported by better men than themselves, and Tilden has secured his coterie already. Some have been allured by promises of being made Cabinet ministers; others are fooled with the notion that there is to be some fun, but not to amount to a revolution, while the natural cussedness of a goodly number, which circumstances have hitherto kept suppressed, will improve the occasion for a little antic; and so, altogether, there will be no lack of allies. The rank and file will come from the million of Democratic place-hunters, who feel that the counting in of Hayes cheated them of an office which they will get without fail if Hayes can be bounced; and as they will

one and all be assured that they shall be taken care of, they will egg on the conspirators, and compel timid Congressmen to go ahead. Montgomery Blair admits that there are many members wholly opposed to the revolution; but they will have to come in, because of this mighty pressure of a million ravenous office seekers who cannot wait two years for a regular election.

"Revolutions Never Go Backward"—To What Magnitude This Has Swollen in a Few Short Months!

Revolutions grow in these ways by a natural law, and they cannot be controlled when under full headway, nor stopped except in their early stages. See how the present one has augmented. When the Manhattan Club gathering was held it passed away like a smoke-whiff. When Tilden made his revolutionary speech in October there was no response. It fell flat. When Blair introduced his resolution in the Maryland Legislature it was almost unanimously condemned by the members; and yet it went through. It came to Congress and had but few friends; but a few weeks of cunning manipulation by Blair, Field, and Potter, under direction of Tilden, and a great investigation is inaugurated. Men are put on the stand to blacken the character of eminent statesmen—that on the stand confess themselves liars, owning that they could be and were bribed, and confessing that they are without moral character, and the respectability of Clarkson Potter is obliged to associate with them, and he and McMahon are compelled to defend as manifest a set of rascals as ever came to the surface.

All this is but the work of a few months. What will as many more months bring forth no man can imagine. That it will be horrible no one can doubt.

The Horrors to Which the Pallid, Half-Falsed Old Man of Gramercy Park Would Doom the American People.

The conspirators mean mischief. The investigation has no significance in it if not aimed at the title of the President. Blair avows this, and so do others. Very soon others will, that now deny it. The scheme is growing, and moderate men will lose control of it, if they have not already. When the torch of revolution in a country like this is once lighted, hell itself follows. The stormy passions of men are unchained and rage with blood-thirsty violence, and the scenes become indescribable. Victor Hugo, in trying to describe the French revolution, says: "The gloomy armed men, massed to-

gether, felt an appalling spirit enter into them; they ceased to be themselves and became demons. There was no longer a single French soldier, but a host of indefinable phantoms, carrying out a horrible task, as though in the glimmering light of a vision. There was no longer a flag; there was no longer law; there was no longer humanity; there was no longer a country; there was no longer France—they began to assassinate." Even this language fails to depict the horror and misery which a revolution brings. Men turn into brigands and women become fiends. Homes and hearthstones are abolished. All that is held sacred is violated, and where peace and plenty and security reigned, want, famine, and terror come in and take their places.

The only way to avoid all this is to crush the Democrats right out of Congress by electing Republicans.

If we would avoid this condition of things this Tilden and Blair revolution must be crushed—crushed now and crushed completely; but it can only be done by electing a Republican Congress that will set the seal of condemnation upon this one. To this end let all men of all parties lend their energies for the coming months.

PART II.

The Potter Letter—Brief Introductory Remarks—He Would Throw the Election into the House to make Tilden's Chances Sure—The House the Sole Judge of Presidential Elections and can act alone on its own information!—It is "Supreme"—The Democratic House Having Followed his Advice, Tilden must have been Elected if Potter is to be Believed—Tilden as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army!

The fact that Clarkson N. Potter, of New York, the next door neighbor, at Gramercy Park, of Samuel J. Tilden, is at the head of the House Committee now striving, by a one-sided investigation of alleged electoral frauds to make political capital to help his party at the Congressional elections and to lay a basis for the new conspiracy to seize the Presidency, naturally draws attention to his famous letter of November 21, 1876, published in the New York *Herald* of the day following. In that letter he argued for the Til-

den cause with fallacious subtleties which, were they living, would have turned the old Greek sophists green with jealousy and envy, and would do honor to the casuistry of the disciples of Loyola. Then, grown bold upon his platform of sophistries, he proposed the most violent measure of all the wild and anarchical plans advanced by the Tildenites of that troubled period. He wanted the Democratic House to "take the bit in its mouth, declare that the people had failed to elect, and proceed to the election of a President. In following pages it will be found that on March 3, 1877, by a strict party vote, the House did "take the bit in its mouth" so far as to declare that Tilden and Hendricks were duly elected President and Vice President. No doubt Mr. Potter, therefore considers Tilden President *de jure*, and the latter only bides his time for both Houses to be Democratic to assert his pretensions and become President *de facto*. This letter, written by Tilden's next-door neighbor at Gramercy Park, and ostensibly concocted at his Wall-street office, was believed at the time to have been inspired by Tilden himself, and but for the fact that a few Democrats refused to be governed by the Tilden revolutionary caucus the treasonable programme which under Tilden's influence, Potter had laid down, might probably have been carried out to the letter. The firm attitude of President Grant in declaring that whoever, under the electoral count, was duly declared elected President, would be inaugurated, and the knowledge, ascertained by secret emissaries, that the army would stand firm, and could not be corrupted by Tilden's "barrels of money, had much to do with the destruction of the Tilden-Potter programme or *pronunciamento* for Mexicanizing the United States. Besides exhibiting what the revolutionists intended to do, the Potter letter throws some light upon proceedings in the Democratic House after the electoral count, and upon the new treasonable departure taken under the personal lead this time of Potter himself. Following is the closing portion of the Potter letter aforesaid:

He would have the Election Thrown Into the House, which would have Insured Tilden's Election.

If, then, the vote of Louisiana shall not be counted, and Mr. Hayes should be allowed Florida and South Carolina, he will have 177 votes and Mr. Tilden 184, and then either Mr. Tilden will be elected or there will be no election of President. And it will then become the immediate duty of the House of Representatives, under the express direction of the Constitution, to proceed to choose a President by the votes of States, each State having one vote, and if Mr. Hayes should then be chosen President he will be chosen absolutely in strictest

compliance with all the provisions and forms of law, and will be as absolutely and lawfully President as any man ever was. So, too, if the House should choose Mr. Tilden.

The House is a Higher Law unto Itself— Responsible to Nothing and Nobody— It can Act Alone!—It is the "Sole Judge" Whether the People have Elected or not, and Need not Wait the Word of any Informing Body Outside!

The Constitution has provided for no person or body to notify the House that there has been no election for President by the electors, nor, by deciding whether to make or withhold such notification, to judge of that fact, but has left the House sole judge of the happening of the contingency calling for its action. As one of the counters of the electoral vote the House must necessarily know whether that vote has resulted in a choice, and, so knowing, does not require notification of the fact. Accordingly, had the Constitution provided for a notification to the House, it would have been to make its action in that respect dependent on some other judgment of the happening of that contingency than its own. But instead it leaves the House to act upon its own knowledge, independent of the action of any other body or person, and directs the House in that contingency, of which it necessarily has knowledge, and is itself to be the judge, to proceed to choose a President.

And to whom could the question of whether the power was to be exercised be so properly committed as to the body which is to exercise the power, to that great popular branch of the Government which specially represents the people, and whose members, of all those connected with the Federal Government, are alone elected by the people.

The Democratic House Being "Supreme," who can Dispute the Presidential Authority of Neighbor Tilden?

Having then the ordinary and usual authority of every superior body, invested with the exercise of a supreme function, of determining for itself the occasion when it may be lawfully exercised, and having, therefore, the authority to decide for itself whether a President has been chosen by the electors or not, and, if not, to then itself choose the President, who can lawfully dispute the authority of the President whom the House of Representatives may thus choose?

All who Talk Otherwise "Talk Rebellion" against the Lord's Anointed.

Gentlemen who talk lightly, therefore, of having the Vice President of the Senate receive and count the vote of Louisiana against the objection of the House, or of choosing some energetic man President of the Senate that they may have a forcible officer to lead the Republican party after the 4th of March, or of an interregnum in which General Grant shall hold over, talk rebellion. The House of Representatives will not refuse to attend the counting of the electoral vote; it will permit the counting of every vote which it may judge lawful to be counted.

No Electoral Vote Valid unless Agreed to by the House, and unless its Judgment Agrees with its "Concurrence" and "Direction."

And no vote can be lawfully counted without its concurrence or against its judgment and direction.

Resistance to Tilden is **Defiance to Law.**

Whomever, by the vote so counted, shall appear to have the majority of all the electors appointed will be President, and will be accepted by the Democratic party as such; and whomever, if no President be so chosen, the popular branch of the Government shall then, in due form, choose to be President, will be so accepted by them; and it will be those who may see fit to resist the Executive, thus lawfully elected, who will be defying the laws.

No Slight Irregularity can Impair the Title of "Me Neighbor" Tilden—If a Majority of each one of a Majority of States Votes for Tilden, in the House then He is President.

And even if there has been an omission in the Constitution, so that, strictly, no one may be elected according to its provisions, what could be so in accord with the spirit of our Government as to agree upon an Executive chosen by the House of Representatives, acting by States? That is, chosen by men elected directly by the people, as the electors are, and acting by States, as the electors do. It was to the House that the Constitution committed the election of a President in the only contingency of a failure to choose by electors then foreseen. Had the convention foreseen the contingency now assumed by some it would, of course, have committed the election in such contingency also to the House of Representatives.

Why, Then, Not Adopt this Course—(The House Did Adopt It)—And Thus Sail as Near to the "Spirit of the Constitution" as India-Rubber Constructionists Like Tilden and Potter Choose To.

Why, then, should not this great people forbear strife, and adopt a course which, if no course be provided for by the Constitution, would accord most nearly with the spirit of the Constitution? The more, as the result thus reached would conform to the wish of the great body of the people, as just expressed.

And here let me add that to talk of a Senate, in which a majority of the Senators represented less than one-fourth of the people, whose power to choose a President is, by the Constitution, confined, first to the failure of the electors to choose one, and next to the failure of the House of Representatives to choose one by the 4th of March following—setting up as their presiding officer a military dictator, to take possession of the Government against the President regularly chosen by the House of Representatives and backed by an enormous popular majority, seems to me, even in view of Mr. Frank Blair's famous prophecy, idle.

Doubtless the supremacy exercised by the Federal authority of late years, and the desire of property owners for order, even at the price of constitutional liberty, has produced a pretty general belief that any one who can command Federal troops can do anything.

Tilden's Claim to be Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army—Potter Believes the People will Sustain It.

But the question is not what Federal troops can do, but who it is that is entitled to be their commander and head—a wholly different question; and, upon that question, I do not believe the people will be found so anxious to sustain fraud to keep the minority in power, or so unwilling to maintain their constitutional rights as is assumed.

Truly your obedient servant,

CLARKSON N. POTTER,

No. 61 Wall street.

November 21, 1876.

PART III.

The Electoral Commission Act— Analysis of the Votes by which it Passed—It was Essentially a Democratic Measure—The Votes in full in Both Houses.

It will be observed by analysis of the votes cast in the Senate and House upon the passage of the Electoral Commission act—given herewith—that this act, now so much abused by the Democrats, and the findings under which they now pretend to be dissatisfied with, and which they propose by revolutionary methods to overturn, was essentially a Democratic measure. The Senate vote was 47 yeas and 17 nays—10 not voting. Of the Republicans 20 voted yea, 17 voted nay, and 9 declined to vote. Of the Democrats 26 voted yea, 1 voted nay, and 1 declined to vote. The majority for it therefore comprised 26 Democrats and 20 Republicans. The vote against it comprised 17 Republicans and only 1 Democrat. The vote in the House, on passing the act, illustrates the feeling of the two parties even more strongly. That vote was 191 yeas and 86 nays—14 not voting. Of the Republicans only 33 voted yea, 68 voted nay—7 not voting. Of the Democrats 158 voted yea, only 18 voted nay—7 not voting. The majority for it, therefore, comprised 158 Democrats and only 33 Republicans. The vote against it comprised 68 Republicans and only 18 Democrats. Taking the aggregate vote in the two Houses, it will be found that only 53 Republicans voted for the measure and 85 Republicans voted against it; while 184 Democrats voted for it, and only 19 Democrats voted against it. The Republicans of both branches of Congress therefore stood opposed to the measure nearly in the proportion of 2 to 1; and the Democrats of both branches stood by the bill, and "put it through" nearly in the proportion of 10 to 1.

If this state of facts does not prove it a Democratic measure then all proofs would be useless.

The Senate Vote in Full.

The vote in the Senate, January 25, 1877, on the passage of the Electoral Commission bill was, in detail, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alcorn, Allison, Barnum, Bayard, Boggs, Booth, Boutwell, Burnside, Chaffee, Christiancy, Cockrell, Conkling, Cooper, Cragin, Davis, of West Virginia, Dawes, Dennis, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Goldthwaite, Gordon, Howe, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Jones, of Nevada, Kelly, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, McMillan, Macey, Merrimon, Morrill, Price, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Saulsbury, Sharkey, Stevenson, Teller, Thurman, Wallace, White, Windom, Withers, Wright, &c.

NAYS—Messrs. Blaine, Bruce, Cameron, of

Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Clayton, Croover, Dorsey, Eaton, Hamilton, Hamlin, Ingalls, Mitchell, Morton, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, West—17.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anthony, Ferry, Harvey, Hitchcock, Logan, Norwood, Oglesby, Pad dock, Spencer, Wadleigh—10.

The House Vote in Full.

The vote in the House of Representatives, January 26, 1877, on the passage of the electoral commission bill, was in detail as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Ainsworth, Anderson, Ahe, Atkins, Bagby, G. A. Baglee, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Bebb, S. N. Bell, Blind, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradley, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Burleigh, Cabell, W. P. Caldwell, A. Campbell, Chandler, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clamer, Cochran, Cook, Corcan, Cos, Crapo, Culbertson, Cutler, Darrall, J. J. Davis, Davy, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Ellis, Faulkner, Felton, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Foster, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Gooch, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, Har denburgh, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartbridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, H. thorn, Heymond, Heuble, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, Hoskins, House, Humphreys, Hunter, Hutton, Jenks, F. June, Kehr, Kelley, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lane, Leavenworth, Le Moine, Lepp, Lewis, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, H. B. Metcalf, Miller, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mueller, L. T. Neal, New, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Pierce, Piper, Platt, Potter, Powell, Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Sampson, Sawyer, Sayler, Seales, Schleicher, Seelye, Sheakley, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Stenger, Strait, Stevenson, W. H. Stone, Swana, J. K. Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, Warren, Waterson, E. Wells, G. W. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wike, Willard, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, W. B. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, B. Wilson, J. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, Young, and the Speaker—191.

NAYS—Messrs. J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blackburn, Blair, Bradford, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Butt, J. H. Caldwell, Cannon, Carr, Ciswell, Cate, Conger, Crouse, Danford, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Durham, Eames, J. L. Evans, Fife, Forness, Fort, Freeman, Frye, Gurfied, Hale, Haralson, Hendee, Henderson, H. H. Hubbell, Hurd, Harburt, Hyman, T. L. Jones, Joyce, Kasson, Kimball, Knott, Lapham, Lawrence, Lynch, Magoon, Milliken, Mills, Monroe, Nash, O'Neill, Packer, Page, Plaisted, Poppleton, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, Robinson, Rusk, Singleton, Sinnickson, Slemmons, Smalls, A. H. Smith, W. E. Smith, Snowell, Taornburgh, M. I. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, J. L. Vance, Wait, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, J. D. White, Whiting, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—80.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Bass, Cason, Collins, Eber, Hays, King, Lord, Odell, W. A. Phillips, S. Ross, Schumaker, Stephens, Wheeler, Winton—14.

The Electoral Count—The Vote as Announced—Final Separation of the Houses—Subsequent Revolutionary Proceedings in the Democratic House, before Adjournment of the Forty fourth Congress—Field's Quo Warranto Bill and Vote on it.

The counting of the electoral vote of the States commenced February 1, 1877, and did not end until March 2, at four o'clock a. m., each House having been in session continuously from March 1, at 10 o'clock a. m.

When the counting of the vote of the States was concluded and the tellers had announced the result of the footings, the Presiding Officer of the two Houses declared Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, the duly elected President, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, the duly elected Vice President for the four years commencing March 4, 1877—whereupon the two Houses finally separated.

The Electoral Vote of the States as Declared by the Two Houses, being the Evidence of Title which nothing can shake, even though a new Rebellion be Successful.

The vote for President was announced, as follows:

Vote.	States.	Hayes	Tilden.
10	Alabama.....	10	
6	Arkansas.....	6	
6	California.....	6	
3	Colorado.....	3	
6	Connecticut.....	6	
3	Delaware.....	3	
4	Florida.....	4	
11	Georgia.....	11	
21	Illinois.....	21	
15	Indiana.....	15	
11	Iowa.....	11	
5	Kansas.....	5	
12	Kentucky.....	12	
8	Louisiana.....	8	
7	Maine.....	7	
8	Maryland.....	8	
13	Massachusetts.....	13	
11	Michigan.....	11	
5	Minnesota.....	5	
8	Mississippi.....	8	
15	Missouri.....	15	
3	Nebraska.....	3	
3	Nevada.....	3	
5	New Hampshire.....	5	
9	New Jersey.....	9	
35	New York.....	35	
10	North Carolina.....	10	
22	Ohio.....	22	
3	Oregon.....	3	
4	Rhode Island.....	4	
29	Pennsylvania.....	29	
7	South Carolina.....	7	
12	Tennessee.....	12	
8	Texas.....	8	
5	Vermont.....	5	
11	Virginia.....	11	
5	West Virginia.....	5	
10	Wisconsin.....	10	
389	Total.....	185	194

**David Dudley Field's Quo Warranto Bill—
Being one of the Moves in Tilden's Crafty
Game.**

March 2, 1877.—The very same day when the vote for Hayes was declared by both Houses, David Dudley Field, from the select committee on the privilege, powers and duties of the House of Representatives in counting the vote for President and Vice President, hastened to report a bill entitled "*An act to provide an effectual remedy for a wrongful intrusion into the office of President or Vice President of the United States.*"

Vote by which the Quo Warranto Bill was
Lost.

The vote on the passage of the above quo warranto bill was 66 yeas (all of them Democrats) to 99 nays, which comprised 75 Republicans and 23 Democrats, while of those not voting 89 Democrats seem to have been "watching how the cat jumped." In detail the vote was:

YEAS—Messrs. J. H. Bagley, jr., Banning, Beebe, S. N. Bell, Boone, J. A. Brown, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Gata, Gayfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, S. S. Cox, J. J. Davis, De B. H., Ellis, D. E. Glover, J. J. Finley, Franklin, Fuller, Gam, C. H. Gomer, A. H. Hamilton, Harter, Harter, J. T. Harris, Hartzell, Hatcher, Hill, Holman, Hooker, A. Humphreys, T. L. Jones, F. Landers, Lang, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Meade, Morrison, L. T. Neal, P. Rice, J. Robbins, M. Ross, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Stemons, Sparks, Springer, Teese, Terry, Thomas, Tucker, J. H. Vance, R. B. Vance, G. C. Walker, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wiggin, B. Wilson, Yeates—66.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Ainsworth, J. H. Baker, W. H. B. Baker, Ballou Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradford, Bradley, W. R. Brown, Buckner, Burleigh, Buttz, J. H. Caldwell, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Culberson, Cutler, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Forney, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Goodin, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hays, Hopkins, House, Hubbe, I. Hunter, Huribut, Jenks, Joyce, Kasson, Kehr, Kelley, Kimball, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lawrence, Le Moynes, Lynch, McDougall, McDill, Mills, Monroe, New, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Pratt, Rainey, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, M. S. Robinson, Sampson, C. P. Thompson, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, Warren, J. D. White, Whitehouse, Willard, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, B. A. Willis, J. Wilson—99.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, G. A. Bagley, Bass, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Bright, H. C. Burchard, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, A. Campbell, Carr, Cason, Chapin, Clymer, Cochrane, Cook, Cowan, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Durham, Egbert, J. L. Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Flye, Fort, Gibson, Goode, Gunter, Hale, R. Hamilton, Hancock, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartbridge, Haymond, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hoar, Hoge, Hoskins, Huxton, Hurd, Hyman, F. Jones, King, Knott, Lamar, Lewis, Mackey, Magoon, Maish, McCrory, McFarland, McMahon, H. B. Metcalfe, Miller, Milliken, Money, Morgan, Mutchler, N. H. Norton, O'Brien, Odell, Phelps, J. F. Philips, Piper, Plaisted, Platt, Potter, Powell,

Purman, Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, W. M. Rolins, Roberts, S. Ross, Rusk, Savage, Sayler, Schumaker, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Stanton, Stenger, Stephens, W. Stone, Swann, Throckmorton, Turner, Van Vorhes, C. U. B. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, Waterson, G. W. Wells, Wheeler, Whiting, Wike, A. Williams, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wilshire, A. Wood, jr., F. Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth, Young—125.

PART IV.

House Committee Report affirming the right of the House to go behind the Electoral Returns, and "the authority of the House over the counting" thereof—Resolution Reported to that Effect—Vote on Burchard's Amendment to it.

March 3, 1877, David Dudley Field, Democrat, from the Committee on Privileges, &c., made the following report:

The Committee on the Privileges, Powers, and Duties of the House of Representatives, in counting the vote for President and Vice President of the United States report, in part, that since their partial report of certain resolutions, made to this House on the 12th day of January last, the passage of the act entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877," and the proceedings under it, have interrupted the discussion of the said resolutions and the action of the House thereon; but that the refusal of the Electoral Commission, constituted by the said act to hear any evidence touching the frauds and want of jurisdiction of the canvassing and returning boards of Florida and Louisiana, has made it so much the more important to affirm the said resolutions and the authority of this House over the counting of the electoral votes, and especially the right of Congress and of the House to inquire whether any votes purporting to come from a State have been cast by persons duly appointed by that State electors of President and Vice President in the manner directed by its Legislature, and for that purpose to receive evidence of the forgery, falsehood, or invalidity of any certificate of any Governor or canvasser whomsoever. The committee therefore recommend the passage of the following additional resolution:

Resolved, That in the counting of the electoral votes of any State it is the right and duty of Congress and of this House to inquire whether any votes purporting to come from a State have been cast by persons duly appointed by that State electors of President and Vice President in the manner directed by its Legislature, and for that purpose to receive evidence of the forgery, falsehood, or invalidity of any certificate of any Governor or canvasser whomsoever.

Mr. Burchard's Amendment and Vote Thereon.

After Proctor Knott, Democrat, had offered an amendment—which he subsequently withdrew—Mr. H. C. Burchard, Republican, from the minority of the Committee on Privileges, &c., moved to amend

Mr. Fields' resolution by adding to it these words:

Affecting the genuineness or proper authentication of such certificates, but not for the purpose of questioning the number of votes by which, as shown from the certificate of duly authorized canvassing officers of the State, the electors may have been appointed.

The amendment was disagreed to—yeas 84, (all Republicans, save one,) nays 122, (all Democrats,) not voting 84, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, S. N. Bell, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crouse, Danford, Darrall, Denison, Dobbins, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hymen, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Magoon, MacDougall, McGrary, McDill, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Plaisted, Platt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Sampson, Seelye, Sinickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, Tufts, Wair, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—84.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, S. S. Cox, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hardenburgh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hurns, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Knott, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Le Moine, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Mutchler, L. T. Neal, New, Odell, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Rea, J. B. Reilly, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Savage, Sayler, Seales, Sheakley, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Stenger, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, Warner, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wilke, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, Yeates—122.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Abbott, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Bass, Beebe, Belford, Blair, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, A. Campbell, Candler, Carr, Cason, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, Culbertson, Cutler, Davy, Dibrell, Douglas, Dunnell, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Felton, Fort, Goodin, Hancock, Raymond, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Holman, A. Humphreys, F. Jones, Kehr, Kimball, King, Lamar, Lane, Lewis, Lynch, Maish, H. B. Melville, Miller, Multiken, Morgan, Morrison, O'Brien, Pierce, Piper, Potter, Powell, Pratt, Purman, Reagan, M. P. Ross, Rusk, Schleicher, Schumaker, Singleton, Stephens, Stevenson, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waldron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, E. Ward, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, Whitehouse, Willard, A. S. Williams, W. B. Williams, Wilshire, F. Wood, Young—84.

Mr. Field's resolution was then agreed to.

PART V.

Morrison's Letter on Tilden's "Lack of Pluck"—Tilden thought he had "packed" the Electoral Commission—Hendricks Urges the House to Declare Tilden and Himself elected—Votes by which the House makes that Revolutionary Declaration—Subsequent Democratic Protest, declaring Hayes "a Usurper?"—The House Democrats officially notify Tilden that he was "duly elected President"—Did Tilden take the oath?—Revolutionary talk—Hewitt's enforced Resignation and peculiar Apology—Judge Black's Revolutionary Threat.

Letter from the Democratic Leader Morrison to the Seven Men among his Constituents who were not Satisfied and wanted a New Election.

In the New York World, March 5, 1877, appears a letter written by W. R. Morrison, the then Democratic leader of the House and Chairman of Ways and Means, which contains two or three pregnant admissions worth noticing. It was written February 24, 1877, in answer to a dispatch of same date, received by him from Messrs. L. H. Hite and six others, of East St. Louis, Ill., in which they say:

American institutions and constitutional liberty demand that the conspiracy shall not succeed. Our party can prevent it without resorting to revolutionary measures, for the partisan decisions of the Electoral Commission command no respect. Give us a new election.

He tells the Seven Foolish Virgins they have trimmed their Lamps "too late, I Fear"—The Democratic Leader's Idea of "Good Faith."

Morrison's reply ran thus:

DEAR SIR: Your dispatch has been received. I fear it is too late to accomplish what you suggest, and what the right and justice of the case demand. Many of our friends, and some of the most influential think, or pretend to think, that that we are bound by obligations of good faith to go on, under the Electoral Commission bill, to see Hayes fraudulently counted in. There are so many of this way of thinking that this result seems to me to be inevitable.

He lets out the Truth on Tilden—Charges Him with lack of "Pluck," but thinks it is to Tilden's "Credit" that he agreed to the Electoral Commission because he thought it would be "packed" in his interest.

The truth is that our great man Tilden,

able as he undoubtedly is, did not have the pluck to meet the requirements of the occasion at the right time, though I suppose it must be said to his credit that when this commission was gotten up it was expected that Davis would be the eighth man.

The Thing is Lost—Morrison never Believed in Electoral Commissions.

I look upon this thing as lost, though our folks could keep Hayes out if they were united, and possibly could secure a new election; but Lamar, Hill, Watterson, Wood, Wells and many others say they intend to let Hayes go through, and believe themselves bound to do so. I never had any faith in the electoral project, but everybody in the country seemed to favor it, and when I returned from New Orleans it was already settled upon as the way out. Respectfully yours, W. R. MORRISON.

Hendricks Openly Encouraged the Adoption of the House Resolution Declaring Tilden Elected President.

A meeting of Democrats at Indianapolis, March 4, 1877, (according to New York World of the 5th), called to deliberate as to the attitude of Democracy, sent a dispatch to Senator McDonald, of Indiana:

Your friends at home desire that you should take no part in the inauguration of Hayes.

The same telegram states that Hendricks said of the House resolution declaring Tilden and Hendricks elected:

The House should pass such a resolution, though it would have no practical effect.

Proctor Knott's Resolution "Solemnly Declaring" that Tilden "Received 196 Electoral Votes," and was "Thereby Duly Elected President?"—Votes in the House on Question of Consideration.

March 3, 1877, Proctor Knott, Democrat, from the Committee on Privileges of the House, etc., submitted to the House a long preamble, ending with the following resolution:

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the United States of America, That it is the duty of the House to declare, that Samuel J. Tilden, of the State of New York, received 196 electoral votes for the office of President of the United States, all of which votes were cast and lists thereof signed, certified and transmitted to the seat of Government, directed to the President of the Senate, in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States, by electors legally elected and qualified as such electors, each of whom had been duly appointed and eligible, in the manner directed by the Legislature of the State in and for which he cast his vote as aforesaid; and that said Samuel J. Tilden, having thus received the votes of a majority of the electors appointed as aforesaid, he was thereby duly elected President of the United States of America for the term of four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1877: and this House further declare that Thomas A. Hendricks, having received the same number of the electoral votes for the office of Vice President of the United States that were cast for Samuel J. Tilden for President, as aforesaid, the said votes having been cast for him by the same persons who voted for the said Tilden for President, as aforesaid, and at the same time and in the

same manner, it is the opinion of this House that said Thomas A. Hendricks, of the State of Indiana, was duly elected Vice President of the United States for a term of four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1877.

Straight Party Vote on Question of "Consideration."

The question of consideration being raised, it was decided to consider the resolution, by 146 yeas to 82 nays, 62 not voting.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bayley, jr., Beebe, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carr, Canfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, jr., Clymer, Cochran, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Cribberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, DeBolt, D. B. Drell, Douglas, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, J. J. Foley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartsell, Hatcher, Haymond, Henkle, A. S. Hewitt, Hooker, Hopkins, House, A. Humphreys, Hunton, Hurd, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, Lane, Le Moyne, Levy, Lord, Luitrell, Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Muehler, L. T. Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Powell, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Savage, Sayler, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Senger, Stevenson, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Turbow, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wike, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilcox, F. Wood, Yates, Young—146.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Buttz, Cannon, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrah, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dannel, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hayes, Hendee, Henderson, Hoge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Harburt, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnickson, Strait, Thornburgh, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, A. S. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting, Willard, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, Woodburn, Woodworth—82.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, J. H. Baker, Banning, Bass, Belford, S. N. Bell, Blount, Barleigh, Cabell, A. Campbell, Cason, Caswell, Cate, Chapin, S. C. Cox, Durand, Eden, Eibert, Felton, Foster, Freeman, Goodin, Hancock, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, F. Jones, Kehr, Kelley, Kimball, King, G. M. Landers, Lewis, Maish, H. B. Metcalfe, Milliken, Morgan, O'Neill, Packer, Piper, Potter, Pratt, Reagan, J. Robbins, S. Ross, Schumaker, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stephens, Stowell, M. I. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waldron, G. C. Walker, J. W. Wallace, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, A. S. Williams, Wilshire, A. Wood—62.

The resolution, with its preamble, was then adopted by yeas 135, nays 88—not voting 66—as follows:

YEAS Messrs.—Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, At-

kias, Bagby, J. H. B. Gley, jr., Banning, Beebe, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Brink, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. F. Caldwell, Carr, Cawker, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Collins, Cook, Cress, Culbertson, J. J. Davis, DeBolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, F. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Forney, Franklin, F. L. Gause, J. Gilson, Glover, Goetz, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hartbridge, Hartsell, Hatch, H. Hendler, A. S. Hewitt, Hooker, Hopkins, House, A. Humphrey, Hutton, Hurd, J. E. J. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, E. Landers, G. M. Landers, Levy, Lord, L. L. Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, L. T. Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, Phlox, J. F. Phlye, Popelton, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Robert, M. Ross, Saylor, Seale, Schlischer, Sheakley, Simmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, S. S. S. Springer, Stanton, Senger, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarbox, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turner, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Wardell, W. H. Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, E. Wells, Whitmore, Wigginton, Wike, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Wilkie, Wilshire, B. Wilson, Yates—136.

NATS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Buttz, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crouse, Danford, Darrall, Evans, Dobbins, Dugnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, Haymond, C. Hayz, Herdies, Henderson, Hoge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Huribut, Hymen, Joyce, Kasson, Keller, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, W. A. Phillips, Plaisted, Platt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnickson, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thorburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting, Willard, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth—88.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, J. H. Baker, Bass, Belford, S. N. Bell, Buckner, Burleigh, A. Campbell, Candler, Cason, Cate, Chapin, S. S. Cox, Crapo, Cutler, Davy, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Fehon, Goodin, Gunter, Hancock, Haralson, Harrison, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, F. Jones, Kehr, Kimball, King, Lane, Le Moine, Lewis, Lynch, Maish, H. B. Metcalf, Milliken, Morgan, Packer, Pierce, Piper, Potter, Powell, Pratt, Reagan, Savage, Schumaker, Singleton, Smalls, Stephens, Stephenson, Van Vorhes, Wadron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, Whitehouse, A. S. Williams, W. B. Williams, F. Wood, Young—66.

Democratic Congressional Caucus—Address and Protest Against the Election—Declaration of the the Election of Hayes.

On Saturday evening, March 3, 1877, the Democratic members of the House, in caucus, adopted a long address "to the American people" which closes thus:

In the exciting days just past the forbearance of the people has maintained the peace. Let it not however, from this be understood that the fraud to be consummated March 4 will be silently acquiesced in by the country. Let no hour pass in which the usurpation is forgotten. Let agitation be increasing that at every opportunity the people may express their abhorrence of the outrage. Let want of confidence be voted at every election in Mr. Hayes and his administration. * * * Let the Demo-

cratic party at once organize for the new contests to secure overwhelming victories, that conspirators may never again attempt the experiment which now humiliates the Republic and has installed in its highest office a usurper.

Mr. Tilden Officially Notified of his Election.

[Special dispatch to the World.]

WASHINGTON, March 3.—The following dispatch, signed by the Democrats of the House, was sent to Mr. Tilden this evening:

Mr. Knott's resolution declaring that Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks had received the votes of a majority of all the electors legally appointed, and were thereby duly elected President and Vice President for the term of four years, commencing March 4, 1877, has passed the House—yeas, 136; nays, 88.

David Dudley Field, R. F. Mills, E. A. Poppleton, J. M. Beebe, John L. Vance, S. S. Cox, W. M. Springer, A. T. Walling, J. R. Tucker, J. Proctor Knott, E. R. Meade, J. J. Abbott, J. S. C. Blackburn, A. V. Rice, A. M. Waddell, Franklin Landers, Lafayette Lane, M. I. Southard, F. H. Hurd, B. G. Caulfield, H. D. Money, A. H. Hamilton, W. A. J. Sparks, A. M. Bliss, C. C. B. Walker, W. W. F. Slemmons, W. E. Haymond, and others.

Did Tilden Take the Oath?—Contemplated Quo Warranto Proceedings.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—* * * The hotels have been full of rumors, and extras have been issued that Tilden took the oath in New York on hearing of the House resolution, and in order to strengthen his claims through the contemplated quo warranto proceedings.

The above dispatch is from the New York World, March 5, 1877. That paper adds, editorially, thus:

Some excitement was caused yesterday in this city by the receipt of telegrams from Washington asking for the truth of the rumor that Governor Tilden, on Saturday night last, had taken the oath of office as President of the United States. The rumor was so preposterous as hardly to require the denial which is promptly received.

This is about all the light that has ever been thrown upon the question whether Tilden took the oath or not. That the "rumor" received a "denial" may or may not have been true; but was that "denial" true, and did Tilden himself make it? No affirmative evidence has been given on these two points.

Revolutionary Talk by Tilden's Mouthpiece After Inauguration.

The New York World, March 6, 1877, said:

In a free country a majority (meaning the Democrats) can only be deprived of its rights by fraud; and if a majority, deprived of its rights by fraud to-day cannot cover them by honest and determined action to-morrow, it is not fit to be a majority at all.

Abram S. Hewitt Forced to Resign from the National Democratic Committee by Democratic Pressure—He Makes a Very Peculiar Sort of an Apology.

On the 3d March, 1877, Abram S. Hewitt resigned the chairmanship of the

National Democratic Committee, forced to that step by Democratic anger at his course touching the Electoral Commission bill. In his letter of resignation he says:

An absurd statement has been widely circulated that I had declared that "I preferred the inauguration of Hayes to the shedding of a single drop of blood." * * * The only remark which I ever made on this subject was in a private conversation, not intended to be repeated, and was to the effect that "I would prefer four years of Hayes' administration to four years of civil war," and upon this declaration I am willing to stand, because four years of civil war would, in my opinion, utterly destroy constitutional government for this generation at least.

Judge Black Prophesies Revolution.

In Judge Jeremiah M. Black's phillipic before the Electoral Commission, when he found that Tilden had lost all chance of being "counted in," occurs the following prophecy of coming revolution:

* * * But, nevertheless, wait a little while. * * * This mighty and puissant nation will yet raise herself up like a strong man after sleep and shake her invincible locks in a fashion you little dream of now. Wait, retribution will come in due time. Justice travels with a leaden heel, but strikes with an iron hand. God's mill grinds slow but dreadfully fine. Wait till the flood-gate is lifted and a full head of water comes rushing on. Wait, and you will see fine grinding then.

And this was republished approvingly by the Democratic *World*, March 3, 1877.

PART VI.

The Manhattan Club Reception—Orders which the Democratic House is now Enforcing Treasonable Utterances of the Pretender Tilden—Lieut-Gov. Dorsheimer, David Dudley Field, and Others—A Gathering of 1,000 Distinguished Democrats from Twelve States Applauds the Revolutionary Sentiment that "It Might be within the Scope of a Statesmanlike Policy Resolutely pursued to work out a Complete Remedy for this (Presidential) Wrong, Even Before the next Election.

The following, condensed from the New York *Tribune*, June 13, 1878, so clearly betrays the treasonable purposes of the movement inaugurated by the Democratic House in the appointment of the one-sided Tilden Committee now "investigating" alleged frauds of Republicans in the electoral count so as to lay a basis for future revolutionary action, that "he who runs may read" the portents:

One Thousand and Representative Democrats Assembled to Endorse Revolution—Twelve States Represented.

The reception of the Manhattan Club to ex-Governors Tilden and Hendricks, Governor Robinson, and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer brought together a great number of well-known Democrats, many States being represented. * * * Fifteen hundred invitations were issued, and between 800 and 1,000 guests were present, representing the Democrats of many States of the Union. * * *

Prominent among whom were: New York—Secretary of State John Bigelow, Attorney-General Fairchild, Mayor Smith Ely, Samuel S. Cox, Abram S. Hewitt, Colonel Pelton, ex-Mayor Wickham, John T. Agnew, A. J. Vanderpoel, ex-Governor John T. Hoffman, Senator Kernan, John J. Armstrong, Lawrence Turnure, William C. Dewitt, Royal Phelps, Hugh J. Jewett, Parke Godwin, Benjamin Wood, Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, Judge George C. Barrett, General Roger A. Pryor, Henry L. Clinton, Augustus Schell, Peter B. Olney, James W. Covert, Judge Van Hoesen, Frederick R. Couderd, Corporation Counsel William C. Whitney, ex-Judge Henry Hilton, District Attorney Britton, Thomas Kinsella, W. A. Fowler, A. M. Bliss, Calvin Frost, Erastus Brooks, George M. Beebe, Judge Westbrook, Colonel A. C. Davis, Judge Donahue, Judge Lawrence, George Ticknor Curtis, Benjamin A. Willis, General Fitz John Porter, Judge Larremore, E. Winslow Paige, Colonel Wingate, John McKeon, Douglass Taylor, Algernon S. Sullivan, David Dudley Field, Police Commissioner Smith, Commissioner Campbell, Charles G. Cornell, Waldo Hutchings, General McMahon, Smith M. Weed, Scott Lord, General Spinola, W. S. Andrews, Frank Leslie.

Massachusetts.—Josiah G. Abbott, Charles P. Thompson, John K. Tarbox. Connecticut.—Senator W. H. Barnum, ex-Governor Ingersoll.

New Jersey.—Governor Joseph D. Bedle, Senator John R. McPherson, Speaker R. F. Rabe, ex-Mayor Traphagen, Judge Tesse, ex-Governor Price, ex-Governor Joel Parker, Miles Ross, Senator Theodore F. Randolph, ex-Judge Ashbel Green, A. A. Hardenburgh, Orestes Cleveland.

Pennsylvania.—Hiester Clymer, Thos. G. Pearce, Samuel A. Thompson, Robert E. Randall, General W. H. Davis, Dr. Lambdin, Philadelphia *Times*

Maryland.—Senator W. P. Whyte.

Washington.—Richard Merrick.

Virginia.—The Rev. Dr. Hoge, of Richmond.

Ohio.—General George W. McCook.
 Georgia.—General Pierce M. B. Young.
 Indiana.—Senator McDonald.
 Missouri.—Congressman Phillips, Con-
 gressman Wells.
 Wisconsin.—J. R. Barrett.

**The Rothschilds American Representa-
 tive Presides—Others of Wealth and
 Weight Officiating—The Club's "Wel-
 come" to the "de jure" President and
 Vice President,**

The reception committee which had charge of the arrangements was composed of the following gentlemen: August Belmont, president; Aaron J. Vanderpoel, vice president; John T. Agnew, John McKeon, John T. Hoffman, Douglass Taylor, John G. Davis, J. Watts Bangs, Edward L. Gaul, Henry W. Allen, F. R. Coudert, Augustus Schell, Samuel S. Cox, Richard Lathers, James C. Spencer, Peter B. Olney, Robert B. Roosevelt.

The speakers were introduced by A. J. Vanderpoel, who said that it was his agreeable duty to tender, on behalf of the Manhattan Club, which represented not only the Democracy of the Empire City, but of the Empire State as well, a welcome to "those candidates who received a majority of the constitutional and electoral votes for the offices of President and Vice President, and to those who are not only *de jure* but *de facto* the executive officers of our great State."

**The Pretender Tilden's Speech—A Porten-
 tuous Transaction—"Counted Out" and
 "Counted In"—The Wrong Must Be Re-
 dressed and Punished.**

* * * The occasion and the appar-
 ent general expectation seem to require
 that I should say a word in respect to
 public affairs, and especially that I should
 allude to the transaction which, in my
 judgment, is the most portentous event in
 our political history.

Everybody knows that after the recent
 election the men who were elected by the
 people President and Vice President of the
 United States were "counted out,"
 and the men who were not elected were
 "counted in" and seated. [Cries of
 "Hear! Hear!"] I disclaim any thought
 of the personal wrong involved in this
 transaction. Not one of the four and a
 quarter millions of American citizens who
 gave us their votes but what experiences
 a wrong as great and as deep as I; not
 one of that minority who did not give us
 their votes but what in the resulting con-
 sequences of this act will share equally in
 the mischief if it is not redressed and pun-
 ished. [Great applause.]

**He Is Proud of the Old "Peaceful" Changes
 in the Governing Power—He Is the First
 in American History to "Pretend" There
 Was Fraud—"If" Hayes Is "Successful"
 in Retaining the Presidency, Then What?**

Evils in government grow by success
 and by impunity. They do not restrain
 themselves voluntarily. They can never
 be limited except by external forces. It
 had been our pride and our congratulation
 that in this country we had established a
 system of *peaceful* change in the govern-
 ing power. In other countries in the Old
 World changes in the administration—in
 a succession of government—have gener-
 ally been worked out by frauds or by force.
 We felicitate ourselves that here, through
 the skill and patriotism and philanthropy
 of our forefathers, we had established a sys-
 tem of peaceful change through the agency
 of the ballot-box. And this is the first time
 in American history that the right of the
 people has been impeached. It is the
 first time in American history that any-
 body has pretended that the Government
 of this great country was handed over to
 any set of men through fraud. [Ap-
 plause.] It is an event novel, portentous.
 The example, if successful, will find imi-
 tators.

**"If" Hayes and Wheeler "can maintain
 possession"—The question of questions—
 No politics until the People "regain their
 rights and rule"—which means by put-
 ting Hayes out and Tilden in.**

The temptation is always present, and
*if a set of men, being in possession of the
 Government, can maintain that possession
 against the elective power of the people,*
 and after they are condemned at the elec-
 tion, why should not such an event be
 imitated by their successors? Devices
 will always be found to give the color of
 law, and false pretenses on which to found
 a fraudulent judgment will not be want-
 ing. The question for the American peo-
 ple now is whether or not the elective
 system of our forefathers, as it was estab-
 lished in this country and has been re-
 spected and venerated for seventy-five
 years, shall be maintained, or whether we
 shall adopt the bad practices of the worst
 governments in the worst ages. [Ap-
 plause.] This is the question of ques-
 tions. Until it shall be settled no inferior
 administrative questions will have any
 significance in the politics of this country.
 There will be no politics in this country
 but the question, "Shall the people *regain*
 their rights and rule in this Republic?"
 [Some one in the room here proposed
 three cheers "for the President-elect,"]

but as it seemed an inopportune moment no response was made.]

"If Hayes accession to the Presidency 'is once condoned,' what then will happen—But it won't be—'The Institutions of the Fathers,' to wit: Tilden and Hendricks 'Are not to Expire in Shame'—'The Sovereignty' meaning the Presidency 'Shall be rescued and re-established.'"

If one instance of the successful assumption of the Government in this mode can be established, it will find plenty of imitators, if it is condoned by the people—aye, if it is once condoned. If my voice could reach throughout our country and be heard in its remotest hamlet, I would say, "Be of good cheer. The Republic will live. The institutions of our fathers are not to expire in shame. The sovereignty of the people shall be rescued from this peril and re-established." [Applause.]

The people must condemn Hayes' "Wrong" not only "with a voice," (presumably at the polls,) "but in a manner," (presumably by violence) "to prevent future wrongs"—They must deny, they must refuse success and prosperous impunity to it.

The question involves the elective system; it involves the whole structure of free government, and the rights of the people through it again will be vindicated, reasserted, and forever established. The people must condemn the great and transcendent wrong that has been committed. They must condemn it with a voice and in a manner that shall prevent its imitation hereafter. They must strip from this example everything in it that attracts imitation. They must deny, they must refuse success and prosperous impunity to fraud. [Applause.]

Hayes and Wheeler cannot be trusted to give "redress"—But wait until Hayes and Wheeler are put out and Tilden and Hendricks shall "attain power," and then we will "fix" things so that to elect and seat another Republican President shall be "impossible."

The people cannot trust those who are the authors or beneficiaries of this wrong to devise measures of redress. But when those who condemn this wrong shall attain the power, they, acting for the people, in their behalf, must devise measures of legislation, measures of Constitutional change, if necessary, that shall make a recurrence of such an act as has stained our national history impossible.

President Hayes is on the eve of his "fall"—He may seem invincible—Yet "in a year or two" he will be either in the Penitentiary or in exile!—Hayes illustrated by Tweed.

Successful wrong is never so apparently triumphant as when it is on the eve of its fall. Seven years ago a corrupt dynasty had established its ascendancy over the millions of people who live in New York. It had obtained all the powers of government and of administration. It conquered or it bribed, or it persuaded, and won the almost universal acquiescence of our people. It even aspired to social recognition. *It seemed to be invincible.* And yet a year or two later the members of it were either in the penitentiary or in exile. History is full of such examples. We must trust the people; we must believe in the right; we must believe in the future of our country. A great and noble nation will never separate its political from its moral life. [Immense applause and cheers.]

Governor Robinson, of New York, Denounces Hayes' "Crime."

Governor Robinson, who was warmly applauded, said he "was glad to be present to do honor to the distinguished gentlemen who were the Democratic standard-bearers in the late national contest. From the time a Chief Magistrate of the United States was inaugurated who had never been elected he had lost no opportunity, he said, to assert that the will of the people had been disregarded, and that unless such acts were regarded as crimes there was no hope of the United States surviving as a nation."

Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer on the "Great Injustice"—The Wronged Must "Seek Redress," Must "Punish" the "Wrong-Doer," Which Must Mean Hayes—"We will" Make the Wrong "Lie Heavy" Upon the Republicans; Will "Bear Witness" Against it, and "Condemn" it—"But I Hope we will not Content Ourselves with That!"

Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer claimed that a great injustice had been done to the Democratic party in the inauguration of the Republican candidate. He concluded as follows: It devolves upon you, for it is you who have been wronged, and in all affairs it is for the party wronged to seek redress, to find out and punish the wrong-doer. Now, what shall we do? We will, in the first place, improve every occasion, in public and private, to condemn it. We will bear witness against it. We will make a sense of this wrong to lie heavy upon every conscientious Re-

publican in the country. *But I hope we will not content ourselves with that.*

He Foreshadows the Action of the Democratic House—Alleged Powers of the House—A "Policy" to be "Resolutely pursued" to work out a "Complete Remedy for this Wrong, Even before the Next Election!"—The 1,000 Distinguished Democrats Applaud the Treason!

A distinguished member of the House of Representatives, whom I saw a few moments ago, told me last evening that the House had the power to inquire and to make plain, and I may say to you further that *the House of Representatives is by the Constitution endowed with those great powers which in every generation the British House of Commons has used boldly and with perfect freedom to work out the liberties of the English people.* [Applause.] So I should hope that *it might be within the scope of a statesman-like policy resolutely pursued to work out a complete remedy for this wrong, even before the next election.* [Applause.]

David Dudley Field's treason—Three months after Vice President Wheeler took the oath of office Field terms Hendricks, of Indiana, "our Vice President!"

David Dudley Field, on being called for, said: "It is quite impossible for me to think of addressing you in the presence of so many gentlemen from other parts of the country, much worthier and better able than I, and, therefore, I must beg you to excuse me. I can point to dozens of gentlemen from other States, and they are the ones whom you wish to hear, and not one of yourselves here. It is not for me to give you advice nor encouragement, but for others. I will name some of them. We have got here Judge Abbott, of Massachusetts, one of the noblest men that ever voted a ballot for freedom, and for days and weeks he and I stood shoulder to shoulder fighting your battle in the House of Representatives. I ask you to hear him. Then there is another distinguished gentleman from the same State with our Vice President—Mr. McDonald—who also bore the standard bravely in the struggle. He is here."

Senator McDonald acknowledged the courtesy, but excused himself from a speech.

The Serenade—Handshaking with "our President and Vice President elect."

Mr. Tilden and ex-Governor Hendricks held an informal levee, and such persons as had never enjoyed the privilege before were permitted to shake the hands of

"our President and Vice President-elect," as they were invariably introduced. After the collation, which was partaken of without speech-making, the Young Men's Democratic Club, accompanied by Graf-fulla's band, reached the club-house and serenaded the distinguished guests.

Tilden thanks the Democracy for "Devotion" to him—"The future is ours," he says, "and we shall prevail"—Firmness and "courage" needed—His coming "triumph."

Mr. Tilden spoke from the front steps and said: "I am unfortunate enough to be suffering from a temporary cold, and have been told that I must not show myself out here; but I feel there cannot be any harm in speaking on such an occasion as this. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the Democracy of New York for their devotion in the contest of 1876. I cannot say more than: Be of good cheer; the future is ours and we shall prevail. Be constant, be firm, be courageous. Right, truth, and justice shall at last triumph. Thanking you again for your zeal, courage, and indomitable energy, I bid you good night."

PART VII.

Maryland makes the First Stir in the Plot—The Montgomery Blair Quo Warranto movement.

On the last day of the session of the Maryland Legislature, Montgomery Blair, by the plentiful use of champagne and terrapin "put through" the following resolution, which was presented to the National House of Representatives, April 22, 1878:

Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Attorney General of the State be, and he is hereby, instructed, in case Congress shall provide for expediting the action, to exhibit a bill in the Supreme Court of the United States, on behalf of the State of Maryland, with proper parties thereto, setting forth the fact that due effect has not been given to the electoral vote cast by this State on the 6th day of December, 1876, by reason of fraudulent returns made from other States and allowed to be counted provisionally by the electoral commission, and subject to judicial revision, and praying said court to make the revision contemplated by the act establishing said commission; and upon such revision to declare the returns from the States of Louisiana and Florida, which were counted for Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler, fraudulent and void, and that the legal electoral votes of said States were cast for Samuel J. Tilden as President, and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President, and that by virtue thereof and of 184 votes cast by other States, of which 8 were cast by the State of Maryland, the said Tilden and Hendricks were duly elected, and praying said court to decree accordingly.

PART VIII.

The Potter Resolution founded upon the Maryland resolution Its sweeping powers within certain lines—A one-sided investigation proposed—High-handed proceedings in the House—The Revolutionary intent exposed—Randall's ruling—The votes in full.

May 13, 1878, Mr. C. N. Potter, Democrat, of New York, offered the following resolution. The preamble is here omitted:

Be it resolved, That a select committee, consisting of eleven members of this House, be appointed by the Speaker to inquire into the aforesaid allegation as to the conduct of the persons in office aforesaid in respect of the said election, and into the alleged false and fraudulent canvass and return of votes by State, county, parish and precinct officers in the said States of Louisiana and Florida, and into all the facts which, in the judgment of the said committee, are connected with or pertinent thereto; and that the said committee, for the purpose of executing this resolution, shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to take testimony, and in their discretion to detail sub-committees, with like full authority of said committee in every particular, and with power to sit in Florida and Louisiana, which sub-committees shall be committees of this House; and the chairman thereof shall be authorized to administer oaths; that the said committee and sub-committees may employ stenographers, clerks and messengers, and be attended each by a deputy sergeant-at-arms, and may sit during the sessions of this House, and during the vacation; and that said committee do forthwith proceed in this inquiry and have leave to report at any time.

The point of order which was to develop the revolutionary intent of this Potter-Tilden committee business.

Mr. Conger (Republican) made the point of order that the resolution is not a question of privilege, and was ably supported by Messrs. Hale and Garfield, Republicans, and Mills, Democrat, all of whom pointed out clearly that unless it was intended to impeach or take some other positive action against President Hayes as a result of the investigation, it could not be termed a question of privilege.

Mr. Hale puts it squarely to the Democratic Speaker as to the outcome of this proceeding.

Said Mr. Hale: * * * I await with solicitude the ruling of the Speaker. If this resolution, however deprecatory it may be in language, means that this House is to enter upon, as it would in the election of a Speaker, or in the seating of a member, the practical question affecting the election of a President, thereby intending to subvert accepted results, then there may be some claim that it is a question of privilege. But as an expression of opinion, as for instance if I should rise and offer a resolution that the gentleman from New York or

his title to his seat here was affected by rumors, and as an expression of opinion it was desirable to settle history on that, the Chair would undoubtedly at once rule it was not a question of privilege, because no action was intended. I put it squarely to the Speaker, and upon that, as I have said, shall await with solicitude his ruling, whether under the provisions of the rule, this is a resolution calling for action on the election of President, which action must be in the direction of attacking the legality of the title of the President of the United States to the subversion, it may be, of that title and the expulsion of the incumbent. All that is involved if this question belongs here.

Leave off your damnable faces and begin—
Garfield's statement of the point.

Mr. Garfield said: The right of petition was discussed on the presentation of the Maryland resolutions. Everybody admitted the unquestioned right of petition; but the right of action here on this floor is a different thing. The question which rises to the dignity of a privileged question depends upon the right of action which some one can demand of the House. A member here can demand action in regard to his right to his seat.

Anything that leads to an action relating to these high questions of privilege of course can be called a privileged question. But this memorial received here by the courtesy of the rules of the House, and not as a matter of right, except as a petition, cannot now by any form of logic be raised to the dignity of a question of privilege.

Now, I say another thing. This would be a question of privilege without any doubt, provided the resolution alleges a purpose to institute proceedings in impeachment. If he says this is a proceeding intended to pave the way for an impeachment, doubtless it may be made a question of privilege.

If he says that it is a proposition by this House to raise and determine the question of the title of the present Chief Magistrate to the office which he holds, then I answer him that that question has been determined by the joint action of the two Houses of Congress, and is as much beyond the reach of this House as the election of Grant or Washington.

Again, if the object of this resolution is merely to organize a committee for campaign purposes, to make campaign literature for the coming fall, I affirm that the exigencies of a political party have never yet been treated as a question of privilege.

Furthermore, there is in this resolution—and I reserve the point of order after the point now raised shall have been settled—a proposition that the committee shall have the right to report at any time, and that they shall have the right to sit in recess. Neither of these things can be effected by a majority vote if it comes to that, and I reserve on them the points of order when the time shall have arrived. I conclude, by saying I am glad that at last, after this proceeding has so long been hanging over the country, we now know what they are seeking to do. For some weeks I have been inclined to say to these gentlemen, in the language of Hamlet to the players—

Leave off your damnable faces and begin.

The stand which one independent Democrat took—He protests against the threatened "usurpation" of power by the House in the interest of the revolutionists,

Mr. Mills, of Texas, said: * * The exercise of the power by the Forty-fifth Congress over the question of the election of President of the

United States is a usurpation. We have no power over that question at all. By the Constitution of the United States that power to inquire as to who was elected President of the United States was vested in the Forty-fourth Congress, and when that Congress spoke or failed to speak on that question, when it made a law by which it abdicated that power conferred upon it by the Constitution of the United States, it parted with it forever, and so far as this, the Forty-fifth Congress, is concerned, there remains not a shadow of authority to investigate the election of the President.

Speaker Randall's ruling—He founds it on the Maryland Quo Warranto resolution which demands "action" against Hayes' title—The investigation boundless in the one limit and the "remedies" without "limits."

The Speaker's decision was as follows :

The issue involved is a new one in the history of our country. An examination of the basis upon which the preamble and resolution are introduced is proper. The Legislature of the State of Maryland passed a joint resolution touching the subject treated of in the preamble and resolution just read, a copy of which has been remitted to this body, received and referred, and is within the knowledge of the members of the House. The following language is used :

"That due effect has not been given to the electoral vote cast by this State on the 6th day of December, 1876, by reason of fraudulent returns made from other States and allowed to be counted provisionally by the electoral commission and subject to judicial revision—"

"And further—
"Alleging that the returns from Louisiana and Florida, which were counted for the present occupant of the executive chair, were fraudulent and void."

Here is the appeal of a State of this Union to the Federal legislative power for the correction of a high grievance said to have been committed in the States of Florida and Louisiana against the rights of the State of Maryland, in having by fraud, in said States of Florida and Louisiana, produced a different result in the election of a President and Vice President from that actually decreed by the people themselves at the polls.

Whether these allegations can be sustained by proof, is not for the Chair to consider. It is enough for him to know that they come from a power which within the limits is recognized as sovereign by the Constitution, and that the issue involved runs to the welfare of the people of all the States. Nor is it within the range of propriety for him to express an opinion as to how far such investigation should go to reach the facts, nor what limits should be set up as to remedies to be provided against a recurrence of such like events.

A higher privilege than the one here involved, and broadly and directly presented as to the *rightful occupancy of the Chief Executive chair of the Government*, and the connection of high Government officials with the frauds alleged, the Chair is unable to conceive.

The Chair finds enumerated among the questions of privilege set down in the Manual the following: "Election of President."

The Chair therefore rules that the preamble and resolution embrace questions of privilege of the highest character, and recognizes the right of the gentleman from New York to offer the same.

An Appeal from that Decision—Straight Partisan Vote.

Mr. Conger (Republican) appealed

from this decision; but a motion by Potter (Democrat) to lay the appeal on the table prevailed, by 128 yeas to 108 nays; all the former Democrats, except 2 Republicans, and all the latter Republicans, except two Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aikin, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, Butler, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Durham, Eden, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Garch, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Gunter, Hardenburgh, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Harvill, Hawker, Heale, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knapp, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Rea, Reagan, R. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Robertson, M. Ross, Saylor, Scales, Schleicher, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walch, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willson, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yester, Young—128.

NAYS—Messrs. Bacon, J. H. Baker, Banks, Bayne, Blair, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Buckner, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Calkins, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Cladin, R. Clark, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Grapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Foster, Gardner, Garfield, Hale, Harner, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Hendee, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Killinger, Lapham, Lathrop, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mill, Monroe, H. S. Neal, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Reed, W. W. Rice, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Smalls, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Wait, W. Ward, H. White, M. D. White, C. G. Williams, Wren—108.

Potter gags the House of Representatives for nearly a week—Alec Stevens yelled down, etc.

Mr. Hale asked Potter to yield so that he might offer a general amendment, (which will be found under the chapter on "Democratic Frauds") to enlarge the sweep of the resolution, so that alleged frauds of the Democrats at the Presidential election might also be investigated, but Potter declined, called the previous question, and would not even be civil until he suddenly found himself, through the absence of his revolutionary party friends, without a quorum, and was obliged to move an adjournment, which was carried. For several days Revolutionary Potter insisted on

revious question," and would not be heard on it; refusing even to vote, one of his Democratic friends, a venerable statesman, Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, whom when he to gain a brief hearing was absolved and hooted down by the Democratic revolutionists; and for as many as Republicans refused to vote, as they did not amend the resolution nor be a protest against it. But at last, on May—after five days of Democratic eism—enough Democrats were present to make a quorum, the iniquity accomplished, and the Potter-Tilden resolutions were successful. The resolution was adopted by 146 Democratic and 2 Democratic nays—all the Republicans and 7 Democrats declining to vote—

Quitous Record of the Democratic dishonor—The vote in full on the Investigating Resolution.

Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banerjee, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bridges, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Candler, Chalmers, Clark, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eckhoff, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Haddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hardenburgh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartzell, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, F. Jones, Kenna, Kimmell, Knapp, Ligon, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMoney, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertsons, Saylor, Seales, Schleicher, Shelley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Swann, Throckmold, W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turb, Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Walker, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, Young—146.

Messrs. Mills, Morse—2.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Payne, Bisbee, Blair, Boyd, Brentano, Briggs, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Bundy, Orchard, Buddick, Butler, Cain, Calap, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Chittenden, Cladin, R. Clark, J. B. Cole, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, ns, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Freeman, dner, Garfield, Hale, Hanna, Harmer, rri, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, H. L. by, Hungerford, Hunter, Ittner, James, es, Jorgenson, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, H. Ketcham, Killenger, Knott, G. M. Latham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Mitchell, Monroe, H. S. Neily, Nor-

cross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Quinn, Rainey, Randolph, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Wait, W. Ward, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, Willits, Wren—143.

PART IX.

The Casey Young Resolution—The Democratic Caucus reject the proposed declaration that "it is not intended by this proceeding to disturb the present Chief Magistrate"—Republican Caucus declares the Potter movement "revolutionary," and decide on resistance—Republican address to the People—The Potter Plot to suborn witnesses, declare Hayes an Usurper, and put him out of the White House.

On the night of Tuesday May 14, 1878, a caucus of the Democrats of the House was held, whereat a resolution to add to the Potter resolution the following declaration was defeated:

But it is not intended by this proceeding to disturb the present Chief Magistrate in the occupancy of his office, nor to impair public confidence in the policy he has inaugurated toward the Southern States.

Which was overwhelmingly defeated.

It was said (see *Washington Republican*, May 16) that many of those present actually believed the amendment was right, but were whipped into the party traces by Speaker Randall.

The Republican caucus unanimously denounces the Potter resolution as "revolutionary," and decides to "resist."

At a caucus of Republican members of the House, May 15, it was *unanimously*

Resolved, That the resolution now pending in the House is an attempt, in a form unjustifiable and illegal, to reopen the question of the Presidential title, a question solemnly settled by the action of the Forty-fourth Congress, which alone had jurisdiction; and is, therefore, revolutionary and destructive of the good order, business prosperity, and peace of the country.

Resolved, That the effort of the Democratic majority to force upon the House, without opportunity for amendment or debate, a measure of such revolutionary character, which has not been recommended or considered by any of its committees, but has been devised by individuals for private or party ends, should be resisted by all the means which are authorized by the rules of the House.

Republican address to the voters of the United States—The Potter plot—The intention to "suborn evidence" declare Hayes "an usurper," and drive him from his office.

TO THE VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Democratic House of Representatives has this day (May 17) by a party vote, adopted a resolution which, under the pretense of an investigation, is to lay the foundation for a revolutionary expulsion of the President from his office. This is the culmination of a plot which has been on foot from the day that Hayes and Wheeler were constitutionally declared elected. It made its first public appearance in the resolution of the last Democratic House, adopted at the close of the session, declaring that Tilden and Hendricks were elected. Tilden and Hendricks subsequently made similar public declarations themselves.

A few timid members have long held back, and some of them after being coerced to the final vote, still pretend that they will halt as soon as their partial and one-sided investigation shall be ended. In other words, they intend, after hearing suborned evidence, to bring in a verdict that Hayes is an usurper, and that he shall remain in office! These men have no control in the Democratic party; they dared not even follow Alexander H. Stephens in a revolt against caucus dictation to the extent of showing some semblance of fair play. They will be impotent in the future as they have been in the past. Moreover, it is difficult to believe in their sincerity, in view of the public avowal of their party that its purpose is positively to displace the President.

It is a matter of history that the resolution just adopted was framed to express this object. The Speaker of the House was consulted in advance as to whether he would rule that it was a privileged question. The party managers were anxious to conceal their purposes, if possible. In this they were defeated by the Speaker, who would not rule it a question of privilege unless it clearly assailed the title of the President. The resolution being offered, he read a carefully-prepared opinion, deciding it to be a question of highest privilege, because it involved the question of the validity of Hayes' title. These are his very words:

"A higher privilege than the one here involved, and broadly and directly presented as to the rightful occupancy of the Chief Executive chair of the Government and the connection of high Government officials with the frauds alleged, the Chair is unable to conceive. The Chair finds enumerated among the questions of privileges set down in the Manual the following: 'Election of President.' The Chair therefore rules that the preamble and resolution embrace questions of privilege of the highest character, and recognizes the right of the gentleman from New York to offer the same."

Upon this the Republicans commenced a struggle against the revolutionary scheme, which, after four days' duration, terminated in the success of the conspirators.

The Republicans offered to favor the fullest investigation into all alleged frauds, by which ever party charged to have been committed; that the Democracy pursued its course shamelessly and relentlessly, and stifled all inquiry into attempts at bribery in Oregon, South Carolina and Louisiana, and murder and violence in several of the States. Neither amendment nor debate was allowed. The inexorable previous question was applied and enforced.

This scheme, if pursued—and it is now fully inaugurated—can only have the effect of further paralyzing business of all kinds, preventing the restoration of confidence which seemed promising, casting a gloom over every house-

hold, and bringing our nation into reproach before the civilized world.

The peace of the country is the first consideration of patriots. This new effort of the Democracy to inaugurate anarchy and Mexicoize the Government by throwing doubts upon the legitimacy of the title of the President is in keeping with the record of that party, one wing of which rebelled against the Government, while the other wing gave them aid and comfort.

We call, therefore, upon all who opposed the rebellion of 1861, without distinction of party, to rally again to the support of law and stable government, and to overwhelm with defeat the reckless agitators who, to gain political power, would add to the present distresses of the country by shaking the foundations of the Government they failed in a four years' war to destroy.

By unanimous order of the committee.

EUGENE HALE, Chairman.

GEORGE C. GORHAM, Secretary.

PART X.

Alexander H. Stephens' Letter to Potter—His pathetic appeal—The Tilden Rufians hoot him down in the House—Interview with Stephens—"Snug, the Joiner" — "The People want peace and quiet."

The following letter was sent to Potter from Alexander H. Stephens' sick room the day before he was howled down in the House by the Democrats:

Potter's course divides Democrats and unites Republicans.

NATIONAL HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
May 15, 1878.

The Hon. CLARKSON N. POTTER, House of Representatives:

MY DEAR SIR: I am still confined to my room in this city. I greatly regret that I cannot go and see you in person. Let me, then, say to you in this way that I think it will be a great mistake if our friends in the House shall pass your resolution under the previous question, thus cutting off Mr. Hale's or other amendments looking to enlarged investigation. Do not insist on the previous question. I could not vote for it if I were present, and were not paired as I am; nor could I vote for the resolution under the previous question without allowing amendments. It would only divide the Democracy and unite the Republicans. My opinion is that mischief instead of good will come of the investigation by the passage of your resolution as it is under the previous question. Please excuse this note. I feel it my duty, feeble as I am, to send it to you. Very respectfully and truly yours, &c.,
ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

Stephens, of Georgia, asks to be heard only three minutes—But they "order" him into his seat.

May 16, Mr. Stephens, in spite of every attempt of Republicans to insure him a respectful hearing, was yelled down by the Democrats with cries of "order," &c., although he only asked the poor privilege of three minutes. Following is how it is mildly stated in the *Congressional Record*:

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, I wish to say a word on this question. (Cries of "Order!")

Mr. Wait. Will not gentlemen on the other side listen to the gentleman from Georgia?

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia. I ask to be heard for three minutes. [Cries of "Regular Order."]

The Speaker. The gentleman from Georgia asks to be heard for three minutes. Is there objection? [Cries of "Regular Order!"]

Mr. Humphrey. There is no objection on this side at all to the gentleman from Georgia being heard.

Mr. Potter. If I could yield to anybody it would afford me great pleasure to yield to the gentleman from Georgia. But I am not permitted to yield to anybody. I am instructed to stand where I am. I therefore move that the House do now adjourn.

An Interview with Mr. Stephens, of Georgia.

On the evening of the 15th a representative of the Washington *Republican* called on Mr. Stephens at the National Hotel, when the following colloquy ensued:

He believes in Hale's or any other amendment enlarging the Investigation.

Republican. I wish, now, to ask you, Mr. Stephens, if you think there will soon be a settlement of the dead-lock in the House?

Mr. Stephens. Well, in the first place, I will vote for no investigation that is not fair and honest. I think the Republicans should have every latitude to investigate in the same committee that the Democrats do.

R. What are you in favor of?

Mr. S. I am in favor of voting down the previous question; in favor of Mr. Hale's amendment, and allowing the Republicans to ferret anything they may see fit, if they think there has been any fraud.

R. That is fair.

Nothing "one-sided" for him—What he proposed to suggest to the House—Peace wanted—No more sectional strife.

Mr. S. "Yes, I want no one-sided investigation; and if I can get the floor to-morrow I will move that the House take a vote upon ordering the previous question, and that the House do not order it. Then, if that is voted down, the Potter resolution will be open to amendment. I believe there are a great many Democrats who will unite with the Republicans in a full investigation for the purpose of defeating this one-sided business. Let both sides be heard. Honesty in politics, as well as in morals, is the best policy. Mr. Hayes' title to the Presidency I regard as fixed beyond all question. The people of this country want peace and quiet. They want no more sectional strife. Mr. Hayes has done more, I believe, to produce quiet in the South than Mr. Tilden could have done, and more than anybody expected at the time of his inauguration. I think he has faithfully performed his constitutional duty. Nothing would do more to unsettle business than to attack his title."

"Snug, the Joiner."

R. "But don't you think that Mr. Potter contemplates attacking it?"

Mr. S. "I don't know. I think Mr. Potter in this matter is something like *Snug*, the joiner, in 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' who clothes himself in lion's skin and roars, but confidentially informs his fellow-actors that he is not the lion he seems to be—simply *Snug*, the joiner."

"If they reject the Hale amendment, they 'will be deceived.'"

"No, no," continued Mr. Stephens, "if they must have investigation, why let us have it:

but let it be free, full, and fair. If they carry it on in a one-sided way they will do as the Democracy did in 1860, when they thought they would throw the contesting Presidential aspirants into the House, where they had a majority of the votes, and thereby elect Breckenridge. But they only looked at the one side, and they were deceived, as this Tilden-Potter combination will be if they reject the Hale amendment.

PART XI.

Carter Harrison's "Question of Privilege"—To extend the Investigation to Oregon and South Carolina only—Declaring against the power of this Congress to annul the Presidential finding.

May 22, 1878—Carter Harrison, (Democrat,) who stole his seat in the House when his opponent, as it now appears, was entitled to it by a large majority of votes, submitted the following as a question of privilege:

Whereas, A select committee of this House has been appointed to inquire into certain frauds alleged to have been committed in Florida and Louisiana in November, 1876, in connection with returns of votes for electors for President and Vice President; and

Whereas, It is charged that frauds of a like character were committed at the same time in the States of Oregon and South Carolina; therefore,

Be it resolved, That said committee be, and hereby is, empowered to inquire into the same, if in its opinion testimony thereon of a substantial character shall be presented to the committee; and

Be it further resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress having counted the electoral votes for President and Vice President, and it having been thereupon declared that Rutherford B. Hayes had received the highest number of said votes for President of the United States, and William A. Wheeler had received the highest number of said votes for Vice President of the United States, it is not now in the power of Congress, nor is it the purpose of this House through said investigation to annul or attempt to annul the action of the Forty-fourth Congress in the premises.

The Vote—Forty-eight Democrats Frank Enough to "Declare" that the Power and Purpose is to get Hayes out.

On the question whether the House will entertain it as a question of privilege, the yeas were 71, nays 50:

YEAS—Messrs. Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Bland, Bliss, Boone, Bouck, Brentano, Cabell, W. P. Caldwell, Cannon, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, R. Clark, Cobb, J. D. Cox, S. S. Cox, Culbertson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, Durham, Eden, Elam, Felton, E. B. Finley, Fort, Franklin, Garth, Giddings, Glaver, Goode, Hardenbergh, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartzell, Hawcher, Henkle, Henry, Hunter, Kelley, Lynde, McMahon, Mitchell, Morrison, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, C. N. Power, Pound, Rea, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Seales, Steele, Stenger, Seann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walsh, M. D. White, Whithorne, Wig-

ginton, A. S. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates—71.

NAYS—Messrs. Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Clymer, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, Dibrell, Dickey, J. H. Evans, Forney, Fuller, Gause, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, Hartridge, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Killinger, Knapp, Knott, Ligon, Manning, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Oliver, Phelps, Pridemore, Reagan, Robertson, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Turner, H. White, J. N. Williams—50.

A quorum not having voted, Harrison yielded to the pressure of his party friends and withdrew his resolution.

The Investigation Extended Provided the Democratic Committee Believe Frauds Existed Elsewhere.

Benjamin Wilson, Democrat, on the same day offered the following specious resolution:

Whereas, a select committee of this House has heretofore been appointed to investigate alleged frauds in connection with the electoral vote of the States of Louisiana and Florida; now, therefore,

Be it resolved, That such committee be, and they are hereby, authorized to investigate frauds touching the election aforesaid in any other State, provided they have probable cause to believe that such frauds existed.

"Sunset" Cox moved to refer the resolution to the Potter investigating committee! And 89 Democrats voted to so refer, while only 29 Democrats voted against such reference. Cox's motion was defeated, however, by 89 yeas—116 nays—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atkins, H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chalmers, Clymer, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Dugham, Eden, Eichhoff, Elom, J. H. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Henry, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Ligon, Manning, Mayham, McKenzie, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Robertson, Scales, Schleicher, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Steele, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates—89.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Banning, Bland, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Buckner, H. C. Burchard, Butler, Cabell, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Caswell, Claflin, J. B. Clark, Jr., R. Clark, Cobb, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Cutler, Dennison, Dunnell, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, Fulton, Fort, Foster, Franklin, Freeman, Gardner, Garfield, Glover, Goode, Hale, Harmer, J. T. Harris, Haskell, Hatcher, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbell, Hungerford, Hunter, Hunton, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Killinger, Knapp, Latham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lynde, Marsh, McCook, McKinley, McMahon, Mills, Mitchell, Monroe, Morse, H. S. Neal, Norcross, O'Neill,

Page, G. W. Patterson, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Powers, Price, Pridemore, Randolph, Rea, Reed, A. V. Rice, Sampson, Sexton, Shallenberger, Si Small, Southard, Springer, Stenger, J. W. Stone, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. T. Van Vorhes, Wait, Walsh, H. White, White, A. Williams, R. Williams, B. Wright—116.

The resolution was then adopted, division.

What the mover of that resolution declared as to the unseating of Hayes "depends upon the nature of the developments."

It is a noteworthy circumstance (see *Washington Post*, Tilden org 23, 1878) on the same day on which the resolution was adopted, Representative Wilson, aforesaid, of West Virginia, in reply to the following questions put by one of the *Tilden-Post's* emissaries, made the succeeding answer, viz:

Tilden-Post Emissary. "What the result of the investigation? end in unseating Hayes?"

Benjamin Wilson. "That depends upon the nature of the developments."

Meeting of the National Democratic Committee—A very full attendance. The committee approves the Potter investigation, and declines to disavow its revolutionary intent.

May, 22, the National Democratic committee met at the Arlington Hotel, Washington, D. C. Present: Representative Forney, of Ohio; M. Hughes, of Colorado; Sen. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York; George T. Barnes, of Conn.; George T. Barnes, of Ill.; A. C. Brown, of Ind.; M. M. Home, of Iowa; Isaac E. Eaton, of Kan.; H. Henry, of Ky.; R. F. Jonas, of La.; Edmund Wilson, of Me.; Outerbridge, of Md.; Frederick O. P. Mass.; Edward Kanter, of Mich.; William Lochrane, of Minn.; Ethelredale, of Miss.; John G. Priest, of George L. Miller, of Neb.; R. Keating, of Nev.; R. W. Sullows, of H.; Representative Ross, of N. Y.; Representative Hewitt, of N. Y.; Sen. Samuel J. Tilden, of N. C.; John G. Thom, of Ohio; James H. Reon, of S. C.; B. Bale, of Tenn.; B. B. Smalley, of Robert A. Coghill, of Va.; and Al Campbell, of W. Va. There were eight or nine absentees.

The following is from the *New York Tribune*:

WASHINGTON, May 23.—Action has been taken by the National Democratic Committee subject of the Potter investigation, most significant. At a meeting held this morning, almost the only subject of discussion was whether the committee should declare its purpose of the Democrats to elect Hayes to the title of President Hayes. The committee declared that no attack is intended.

no division of opinion however on a resolution approving the investigation in itself, which was adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the action of the House of Representatives in appointing a committee fully empowered to investigate and report upon the frauds alleged to have been committed in the late Presidential election, to the end that the truth may be made known to the people, and the repetition of such frauds be prevented in the future meets the approval of this committee.

Admissions of an Influential Member of the National Democratic Committee that "the Democratic party may desire to make a most effective attack on the title of the President."

One of the most influential members of the Democratic national committee remarked today that the committee could not afford to declare in advance of the investigation itself what course the party should pursue. Nobody knows what the committee may discover, and *it may be*, this gentleman said, *that the Democratic party may desire to make a most effective attack on the title of the President*. He would not say that he thought this probable, but it certainly was possible.

The Democratic national committee, therefore, like Democrats in Congress, has been very careful to have a door for revolutionary proceedings open in spite of all the individual members of the party may have to say. If the investigation fails, they will assert that they never intended to attack the title of President Hayes. If it should succeed in making Democratic partisans believe there was fraud, the question whether revolutionary proceedings shall be instituted or not will be seriously considered.

PART XII.

Potter's open letter to the Rev. Blank—His fatal admissions touching all that had been denied—The revolutionary intent laid bare by his own hand!—The motives at the bottom of his investigation.

The following letter was published in New York papers, May 28, 1878:

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1878.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 25th. * * * You ask me why Mr. Stephens was "howled" down. The howling was by the newspapers. * * *

The Hale Amendment.

You ask me why we would not let the Hale amendment be attached to our resolution? Because it was not germane. An inquiry into frauds accomplished and which changed the electoral vote is proper to prevent their repetition, but an inquiry into mere attempts at fraud which resulted in nothing is not—first, because we understood it contained recitals to which we could not assent, and which would have forced us to vote against our own resolution; second, because we offered Mr. Hale every opportunity to have his amendment adopted as a separate resolution, that it was not so offered shows it was really not desired; third, because its incorporation into the resolution might have had the effect of preventing any report upon the resolution. As it is the committee will have probably but one opportunity to report in this Congress, and this amendment could, if added to

the resolution, be made to prevent the report at that time, and thus to deprive us of an opportunity to report at all. Just as we got ready to report we should be liable to be stopped to take further testimony in some of the added States brought forward for the very purpose of preventing a report.

What the Tildentes are driving at—If fraud, then a legal remedy by quo warranto, if such remedy exists—If no legal remedy we can provide one—"Not the slightest chance of revolution or disturbance" in such simple moves! Oh, no!

But you suggest that to raise a question about the last Presidential election will bring on disturbance or revolution. Not at all. About that "possess yourself in peace." There is not the slightest chance of revolution or disturbance. When the whole country was at fever heat on the subject of the election a way was found to establish a tribunal to pass upon the election, and every one submitted to that determination. The President's title rests upon that. If now it should appear that there was fraud which palpably affected the electoral vote, and which the Commission did not notice, and if a legal remedy exists for correcting the error, you cannot believe that such a proceeding under the law could lead to disturbance. If there be no such legal remedy existing, and Congress should hereafter, by the approval of the President, or by two-thirds of both Houses without that approval, provide one, why should the legal determination thereafter had any more produce disturbance than the decision of the Electoral Commission did?

To be accused of "Mexicanizing" the country grieves his pure and lofty spirit.

It is exactly because this is not Mexico, and because the people prefer determining questions by legal methods, and, if the legal methods have not been provided, to invent legal methods of determining them, and submit to the determination thus arrived at—that this country cannot be Mexicanized.

The Powers of Congress and of the House.

About the enumeration of electoral votes there could be no question. Eight and eight could only be counted as sixteen. Neither could there be question that the conceded vote of every State should be counted. To refuse that would be revolutionary. But when there were two *bona fide* returns from a State, each claiming to be its vote, it was a necessity to decide between these returns before either return could be counted. This determination could only be made by the Vice President who opened the returns, or by the Congress in whose presence they were opened. I thought it clear from the nature of our Government, from the precedents, and from the opinions so many statesmen had expressed, that this grave power upon which the last election did, and upon which any election might depend, could only be vested in Congress. If this power rested in Congress alone, then the action of Congress was necessary before a choice could be made between conflicting returns, and so, whenever the two houses of Congress could not agree on their choice of a return—one house preferring one and the other the other—no choice could be had, and the vote of that State would be lost, not because one house had any greater rights or powers than the other, not because either or both houses together had the right to reject arbitrarily, or to refuse to reckon any certain electoral vote, but only because in case of *bona fide* conflicting returns from a State, each claiming to represent the electoral vote, it was a necessity to choose between the returns before

The vote of the State could be counted. This was the view at last established. The Electoral Commission to decide the disputed votes was created by Congress, and that was the only authority it possessed.

Now, it seemed to me in 1875 that this was so clear, and that the leading Republican Senators had so generally committed themselves to this view in previous discussions, that we ought to stand upon that ground; to declare that we would abide the action of Congress, would accept whatever the Congress found to be elected, and that if the two Houses should fail to agree as to which of the returns from any State from which there were *bona fide* duplicate returns should be received, whereby the vote of the State was lost, and no election by the electors should thus result, we would then abide by and maintain the choice of the House of Representatives, the body authorized by the Constitution to elect the President where there is no election by the Electoral College. Instead of doing this we drifted along until at last the Republicans, hewing all the while to the line, had got us where we were ready to accept the Electoral Commission. Having accepted it, of course we were bound to accept its results, but we ought at least be allowed to show—if such was the fact—that the returns upon which the Commission passed were procured by fraud.

No Danger of War Exactly.

I admit that the Presidency is not worth a civil war, but I have not believed there was any danger of such a war. The generation who charged up the heights of Fredericksburg, and defended the works at Petersburg, will not go lightly into another civil struggle. We must get years further on before that will happen. I remember after the election remarking to General McDowell that a great mine might be exploded by a spark, to which he answered, "Yes, if the train be inflammable, but this time the powder is wet." He was right. There never was danger of a civil war.

"A Gigantic Game in which we held the cards," (from a stocked pack,) and the Republicans bluffed us.

The whole thing was, as I think, a gigantic game, in which we held the cards and the Republicans bluffed us. Years hence, when it is remembered that we needed only one electoral vote, and that your side could not get on without every one of the remaining seventeen; that we had 300,000 popular majority; that our majorities were around the capital, yours in New England, the Northwest, and the Pacific coast; that the moral sense of the country was that our man was elected and yours not; that you had nothing on your side but the control of an army, of which 10,000 men could not be got together, the privates mostly in sympathy with us, and commanded by officers educated to understand the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—officers who, excepting the leaders, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, could, I believe, never have been generally used to resist the declaration of the House of Representatives—(I am told this will appear certainly whenever the secret correspondence of the War Department is revealed)—and that you were laden down with the care of the national credit, the first shock to which would have arrayed against you all the moneyed institutions in the country; that under such conditions, I say, your leaders contrived and were able to carry through the capture of all these seventeen votes, will be regarded as one of the greatest political performances of history. I admit the success of the Republican leaders. Having laid down when the law was on our side and when we ought to have stood up, it is not for us now to stand up as long as the law remains against us.

What a Democratic "Congress may do" as the result of the Potter Investigation "would be effected quietly, certainly and without violence or disturbance"—Hence we do not contemplate revolution, etc!

But you will ask whether, if there be no danger to public order from legal proceeding, there may not be from action by Congress. No; no more than from the action of the courts. Congress represents the people of the country, but does not march before them. It expresses but does not anticipate their will. Should fraud connected with the electoral count appear so gross and palpable that you and all honorable men should unite in denouncing it, Congress might then take action. But if so, what Congress might do, being the result of the action of men of all parties of the great body of the people, not of a party, would be effected quietly, certainly, and without violence or disturbance. In saying this I do not mean that I expect the investigation to be followed by either legal or Congressional action. What, if anything, should be done because of the inquiry, must depend upon the results of the inquiry. But I do mean that whatever action, if any, should follow the investigation, such action can neither disturb the order nor the prosperity of the country. This cry of wolf, when there is no wolf, this effort to make it appear that there is danger to peace or order from this investigation, is a Republican pretence, like the "bloody shirt" justification of carpet-bag government; like the "public danger" excuse, advanced for the enforcement of Durell's infamous order and the protection of the Rotating Board by bayonets; like the cry set up after the election to prevent any agitation and to secure submission. We must have a very sorry sort of popular Government if Congress cannot even inquire into frauds in the choice of the Executive without endangering the peace and prosperity of the country.

More Jesuitical clap-trap and word-mouthing.

What, then, you ask, is the purpose of the investigation? I answer, to ascertain the facts, so that if frauds be established a repetition of such frauds may be prevented; and, if not, to clear up the general belief throughout the country that there were such frauds. It is true that not every allegation of wrong is to be inquired into by Congress, but when a large portion, if not a large majority, of the people believe that the last Presidential election was secured by organized fraud, surely an inquiry to ascertain the facts ought to be had.

He doesn't believe the Democrats were "bluffed" after all—He "believes we were cheated."

The feeling among many Republicans after the election was that while we had been cheated in the returns, we had bull-dozed the negroes so badly that the accounts of wrong were about equal. This belief in the bull-dozing of the negroes was based mainly upon the fact that in certain districts of the South which usually gave Republican majorities there was not returned that year a single Republican vote. Now the people of the North have never understood that this condition of things was fraudulently prepared by the Republicans. They ought to understand that, and beyond that they ought to understand that there never was anything so dangerous to a free government as a returning board. A delegation of persons vested with discretionary power to revise the votes cast becomes thus the body that elects. So long as they exercise their functions un-

the protection of the State alone, the influence and indignation of the people will prevent them from any flagrant and enormous outrage. The public pressure will necessitate some excuse for subverting the choice of the people, some limitation upon the outrages they do to the popular wish. But separate them from the people by a cordon of Federal troops, under the pretence of preserving order, surround them with Federal bayonets, and they cease to be responsible to any one but the National Administration which protects them. There need, then, be no limit to, as there is no longer any check upon their abuses. To throw out the votes of one side and keep in the votes of the other without cause, to invent pretexts for such wrongs, to accept after continued protests and manufactured objections as color for their action, to permit figures to be altered, returns to be forged, frauds to be perfected, and generally every means by which the will of the people may be frustrated and the popular voices stifled, then becomes possible, and there may be thus a condition of things absolutely destructive of free government. We believe that it was by such proceedings we were cheated out of the election.

More repetitious gabble to "cover up his tracks,"

Unless the proceedings be exposed the outrage will be repeated. If an administration can defraud its opponents out of the results of an election, at which they had seventeen electoral and three hundred thousand popular majority, and no effort is made even to inquire into the wrong, there is nothing the next time to prevent the same administration cheating their opponents, even though the latter have forty electoral votes and a million popular majority. And this will go on time after time, until the outrage becomes intolerable. Let us rather, as Mr. Jefferson said, "have a jealous care of the right of election by the people, and seek a safe and mild corrective for the abuses which, where no peaceable remedy is provided, are lopped by the sword of revolution."

The cowardice of capital from Potter's stand-point.

It has been said that there was nothing more cowardly than a million dollars except two millions. This is nature. But it is the mistake of capital to magnify the dangers on the surface and overlook those that lie below. Just now your capitalists are troubling themselves about the Commune, and oppose the reduction of the army, which they would have kept up as a national police. And yet, in no great country of the world, is there so little danger of Communism as in this, for nowhere is property so generally distributed. But capitalists stood by supinely when the army was used to protect Returning Boards in stifling the votes of States and frustrating the will of their people, and under the pretence of maintaining order to subvert the very principles of free government. Believe me, in this there was real danger. Governments are based upon principle. The theory of this Government is that the people of the States shall choose electors for themselves, and that by the aggregate voice of such electors that the National Executive shall be selected. To let the party in power interfere by force of arms to protect a local board in falsifying the will of the localities is to subvert the theory of this Government, and lead surely to its destruction.

"Whatever the result from the proposed investigation," it will be done peacefully.

Whatever may result from the proposed investigation, you may be sure that nothing can

result that will disturb either your flocks or your balances. The trouble to capital, property, and freedom will come, not, perhaps, in your time or mine, but come at last, from refusing to inquire into frauds. To confront the evil, if you may not right it, is to prevent its repetition. To shut your eyes to it supinely is to jeopard, and not to preserve the future peace, safety, and prosperity of the country.

Faithfully yours,
To the Rev. ———, CLARKSON N. POTTER.

PART XIII.

Mr. Stephens' second letter to Potter—He believes in investigation, but not "a one-sided" one—And he is opposed to investigation that has a revolutionary intent.

In a letter dated "National Hotel, May 28," Mr. Stephens replies in full to Mr. Potter's statement that Stephens was not working with his party. He gives his note of May 15 to Mr. Potter—mentions that he had sent similar ones to Messrs. Candler and Harris, of Georgia, and continues:

* * * From these notes it will clearly appear with whom I first conferred and the opinion I entertained of the effect of proceedings then coming on in the House upon the Democratic party as well as the country. I looked upon them as unwise and untimely and fraught with mischief. It clearly appears from these notes that I was not in favor of a motion to defeat the investigation of fraud of any kind. It was only against a one-sided investigation.

I was also, as I have been since the Presidential contest was constitutionally decided, against any investigation with a view to impeach or assail the title of the present incumbent of the Executive chair. The Democracy of the school in which I was raised was planted upon the principles of law and order, and upon standing by them as constitutionally pronounced.

He proves that Hale's proposed amendment was germane to the Potter resolution.

Mr. Potter's reasons for refusing Mr. Hale's amendment appear to me to be singular and most untenable. He says it was not germane. Why it was not germane I cannot see. All frauds it would seem to me one of a kindred character. They are all the same class of crimes; belong to the same family, and differ only in character and degree. If a fraudulent electoral count in Florida was germane to a like fraudulent count in Louisiana, why was not a like fraudulent count in Oregon or any other State equally germane to the provision to investigate frauds?

He knocks another plank from under Potter's ponderous feet.

Mr. Potter justifies his course in refusing an investigation into the frauds alleged in Mr. Hale's amendment because he said he understood it contained recitals to which he could not assent, and which would have forced us to vote against our own resolution. This seems to me again to be an untenable reason. In the first place, in allowing Mr. Hale to offer his amendment, whatever recitals it might have had by no means committed the House to

truth of the allegations. It would only have allowed him to make them good if he could.

Potter's duplicity made plain.

Mr. Potter insists that the object was not and is not to attack the title of Mr. Hayes. If so, then why did he not, or the managers whose instructions he was carrying out, allow Mr. Casey Young's amendments to go in, which distinctly stated, with a purpose of informing the country, that the object was not to disturb the title of the present executive which had been constitutionally settled by the last Congress.

The entire proceeding "most unwise, most unfortunate and most mischievous"—It will "disturb the peace, harmony and quiet of the country."

But I have no time to say more at present, except to add that I look upon the whole of this proceeding, concocted as it was, conducted as it has been, as most unwise, most unfortunate, and most mischievous. Its effect will be to disturb the peace, harmony, and quiet of the country. Neither Mr. Potter nor anybody else can prevent it; and I say to him most respectfully that nothing short of an immediate general and firm concert of action of the law and order-abiding people of all parties, Republicans and Democrats, throughout the Union in reprobation of this investigation proceeding any further with a view to disturb the Presidential title, such as announced by the Pennsylvania Democracy in their convention a few days ago, can arrest the most fearful consequences. Those who have, though innocently, sowed the wind will reap the whirlwind.

"A contemptible farce or a horrible tragedy"—Potter's Jesuitical whisperings, "delusive and gulleful" as those of Satan.

My own opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, this affair will prove in the end either a contemptible farce or a horrible tragedy. Whether it will lead to the Mexicanization of our Federal Republic the result must show. But I say, as I said on another recent occasion, that all soft words instilling in the mind of the people of this country the idea that Mr. Hayes can be peaceably unseated by Congress are as delusive and as gulleful as the whisperings of the great arch fiend in the shape of a toad in the ear of Eve, from which sprung all our woes.

Very respectfully.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

PART XIV.

The Burchard resolution—a Bomb Shell—Panic and rout—Graphic description of the scene—The Democrats forced to "eat crow"—Condemned out of their own mouths.

June 14, 1878, Mr. H. C. Burchard, Republican, threw a bombshell into the Tilden House, which exploded with such force as to disintegrate, for the moment the combined forces of the enemy, bringing humiliation and disgrace for the time being on the Potter-Tilden revolutionary movement. The refusal of the Democrats to accept the Casey Young

resolution offered in caucus, the refusal of the National Democratic Committee to make any declaration on the subject to quiet the growing apprehensions, the prophetic utterances of Alexander H. Stephens and a few other conservative Democrats, the admissions of Potter's open letter, the boastings of the Democratic press alarmed the country to such extent that, as the New York *Tribune* remarked, "the Democrats in the House of Representatives have been forced against their will to make the declaration they did to-day" in voting for the Burchard and the Judiciary Committee's resolutions. They had uniformly refused to put themselves on record until Burchard's resolution forced them to "toe the mark." We take from the *Tribune*:

Graphic description of Burchard's masterly strategy—Summer skies and "all serene."

WASHINGTON, June 14.—It was neatly done, and evidently took the majority of Republicans as much by surprise as it did the Democrats. There had been a great deal of noise and confusion, and the House had wasted a half hour in deciding upon a time for the consideration of some of the important measures which have not yet received final action. The Speaker's rulings were rapid and arbitrary, without being offensive or unjust, and by common consent things were taken for granted which at any earlier date would have been met with a score of objections. The House was working with one mind for a final adjournment on Monday, while each member was endeavoring to get his own pet measure into a position to command a few of the fleeting moments which yet remained.

Mr. Burchard's face wore an expression as innocent as that of Mary's little lamb. He "moved to suspend the rules and—"

Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, also "moved to suspend the rules and—"

Mr. Fernando Wood rose to a parliamentary inquiry, and took a mild exception to some of the rulings, which gave to certain measures precedence over others, which he asserted were equally important.

Mr. Burchard claimed the floor by virtue of the position his name occupied upon the list of those who had given notice that they would move a suspension of the rules for various purposes. The Speaker said that he would recognize the gentleman from Illinois as soon as he could dispose of the parliamentary inquiries. Mr. Burchard smiled. General Garfield, who sat beside him, also smiled very contentedly. Five minutes later the "gentleman from Illinois" was recognized. He "moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolution," which he sent to the clerk's desk to be read:

Burchard's resolution—The terrific thunder clap!

Whereas, At the joint meeting of the two Houses of the XLIVth Congress, convened pursuant to law and the Constitution, for the purpose of ascertaining and counting the votes for President and Vice President for the term commencing March 4, 1877, on counting the votes Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected President and William A. Wheeler was declared elected Vice President for such term. Therefore,

Resolved, That no subsequent Congress, and neither House has jurisdiction to revise the action at such joint meeting, and any attempt by either House to annul or disregard such action or the title to office arising therefrom would be revolutionary and is disapproved by this House.

Profound Silence—The Democrats Gasping for Breath.

Silence most profound fell upon the House. Most of the Democratic leaders were absent. Messrs. Atkins and Durham had just been sent off on a conference committee. Messrs. Potter, Blackburn, Springer, and the other investigators were busy in their committee room. Some Democrat recovered himself sufficiently to ask that the resolution be read again, and meanwhile the absentees were sent for. Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, was the first to get entire possession of himself. He asked if it would be in order to strike out the last section; then if the resolution could be referred to the Judiciary Committee. He was told by the Speaker in reply that on a motion to suspend the rules neither proposition was in order; and some Republican added: "You can vote it down," which was a privilege which Mr. Townshend and his Democratic associates were at the moment neither prepared to reject or accept.

The Republican hurrah!—The yeas and nays demanded.

By the rules of the House no debate was in order, and nothing remained to be done except to put the question to the House. The hearty "aye" which came up when this was done was by no means confined to the Republican side, while the negative vote was feeble, and betrayed the indecision and demoralization which had seized the Democrats. It was evident that more than two-thirds of the members present voted in favor of the resolution: but the object of the mover being to get members on record either for or against the projects of the revolutionists, Mr. Burchard, without waiting for the decision of the Chair, called for the yeas and nays, and the Clerk began to call the roll.

The Democratic Speaker stops the roll-call to give the Tilden-Revolutionists time to rally—Caucusing as to the best "Policy."

At this point Mr. Atkins arrived, somewhat out of breath, and asked that the resolution be read again. Although the roll-call was in progress, the Speaker directed the Clerk to read the resolution a third time. Most of the Democratic absentees had by this time gathered in. An earnest and excited caucusing was going on on their side of the Hall, which continued during the reading of the resolution and the calling of the roll which followed. A half-dozen Democrats, having the courage of their convictions, responded to their names with a hearty "aye," and as many more voted "no." The great majority of them, however, made no response during the first call of the roll.

Great excitement and noise—More time given for the determination of "Policy"—The Democrats Jeered—Their panic and rout.

The scene was very exciting and noisy. Two or three times the call was delayed or suspended, ostensibly on account of the disorder, but really to give the Democrats time to rally and decide what to do. Two or three motions were made in a spirit of derision, by Republi-

cans, that the House take a recess to allow the Democrats time to finish the caucus. It is doubtful whether a quorum had voted during the first call, but when it was finished some fifteen or twenty Democrats arose, and as they were recognized, one by one recorded themselves in the affirmative. The movement gathered force, and before the vote was announced nearly every member on the floor had voted. The resolution was carried by the astonishing vote of 215 in the affirmative to 21 in the negative.

Two "Specimen Bricks"—One representing the "policy, Me Boy" Tildenites—The other the out-and-out Red Tilden Revolutionists.

Perhaps the most crushed individual in the hall was Mr. Finley, of Ohio, who in connection with Mr. Springer, of Illinois, was perhaps the most active of the original revolutionists. In common with the majority of his party, he dodged on the first call of the roll. When his party associates began to give way, and record themselves in favor of the resolution, Mr. Finley walked down to the front, and being recognized, filed an emphatic and spiteful "no." Then, with a shrug of contempt, he turned his back and walked up the aisle again, the bald spot on the back of his head, about the size of a trade dollar, seeming to glisten with the rage which filled him. When, however, the movement became a rout, Mr. Finley again arose, and, amid the cheers and jeers of the Republicans, made a request to change his vote, and piping out a feeble "aye," he retired to probable oblivion. Mr. Springer stood his ground, and voted an emphatic and ostentatious "no," almost the last one recorded. He was heartily and unanimously congratulated by Mr. Cook, of Georgia.

The vote on the Burchard resolution by which the Revolutionary House, driven by fear, condemned its own revolutionary purposes.

The vote upon the Burchard resolution was 215 yeas, 21 nays—55 not voting. The 21 nays were all red hot Tilden revolutionists and among those not voting, whether present or not, were 40 more Tilden Democrats. In detail it was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Aldrich, Atkins, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bayne, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Bisbee, Blair, Blount, Bouck, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Bright, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Caswell, Chalmers, Chittenden, Claffin, J. B. Clark, Jr., R. Clark, J. B. Clarke, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, J. J. Davis, Dean, Deering, Denison, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Dunnell, Durham, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, J. H. Ewins, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Foster, Franklin, Freeman, Gardner, Garfield, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Hanna, Harmer, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartsell, Haskell, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Hendee, Henderson, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hiscock, House, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hunter, Hunter, Hunter, Inner, James, E. Jones, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, J. S. Jones, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, Kennan, J. H. Ketcham, Killinger, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Ligon, Lindsey, Lockwood, Macke

Maish, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKearie, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mills, Mitchell, Monroe, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muller, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neil, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Price, Fugh, Rainey, Randolph, Rex, Reapen, Reed, J. B. Reilly, W. W. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sayler, Seales, Sexton, Shallenberger, Shallen, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Sparks, Starin, Steele, Stenger, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Throckmorton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, H. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Wait, W. Ward, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, Whitthorne, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wren, Yeates, Yung—215.

Yates—Messrs. Blackburn, Bliss, Boone, Bragg, Cook, S. S. Cox, Ellis, Fuller, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, Mayham, Phelps, Pridemore, Robertson, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Worner—21.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Acklin, Ballou, Benedict, Bland, Buckner, Butler, Cain, Camp, Candler, A. A. Clark, Collins, Davidson, Eickhoff, Elam, Fort, Frye, Glover, Gunter, Hale, J. T. Harris, Hartridge, Hazelton, Hooker, Joyce, Kimmel, Knapp, Knott, Loring, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, McMahon, Money, Muldrow, C. N. Pomeroy, Powers, Quinn, A. V. Rice, M. S. Robinson, M. Ross, Schleicher, Singleton, Slemmons, Sisson, Thornburgh, Tipton, Turner, Van Vorhes, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Wigginton, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wright—55.

PART XV.

The next Democratic move— Throwing Sawdust in the Eyes of the People.

The House Democrats having been completely outgeneraled, how to place themselves in a better attitude before the people was now the question. The great mass of them would be revolutionists if they dared. Already they had discovered by the great wave of public opinion which had recently set in upon them that the times were not yet ripe for revolution, that all their carefully laid plans for future action, to succeed must be covered up; that mere silence on the subject would not longer do; that they must make an explicit declaration even though with the full intention of violating hereafter any present pledge. Under the Jesuitical lead of Potter they had learned the Jesuitical rule that "the end justifies the means." Accordingly it had already been determined that the Judiciary Committee should be allowed to report against the Kimmel bill, which on the 15th of April had been introduced and referred to it; and in the sad straits to which they had just been brought by the Burchard resolution, it was determined by the Democratic leaders that the report must be made and acted on at once. Thus they might yet succeed in making the people believe—until after the fall elections—that their purpose was

not to turn Hayes out and put Tilden in. The report was therefore at once (June 14) made by Mr. Hartridge, Democrat.

The vote by which this mere expression of this House's "opinion" was recorded.

Upon the adoption of the resolution accompanying the report the vote was 235 yeas to 14 "red-hot" revolutionary Tilden nays—not voting 42, of whom 28 were Tilden Democrats.

PART XVI.

The Work of the Potter Committee— Impeachment of Hayes and Wheeler Talked of—How the Thing is to be Done—Hayes Out and Either Tilden or Thurman to Go In—Democratic Authorities for it.

While the great mass of people of this country who have followed the testimony given before the Potter Investigation Committee, undoubtedly consider that it has absolutely failed of its main purposes and that its proceedings have become almost farcical, there are unquestionably a large number of dyed-in-the-wool Democrats who otherwise believe that they have proved their case, and exclaim with their Democratic organ, the *Washington Post*, of August 10, 1878, that:

"The Potter committee has chrystalized allegations into accepted history."

The Democratic leaders will certainly pretend to believe the charges proven, no matter how absurd the pretense may be. And so believing or pretending to believe, they will demand action of some sort against President Hayes and Vice President Wheeler in the event of the next House being Democratic. What action is contemplated is getting clearer. It is to impeach both President Hayes and Vice President Wheeler; to declare by concurrent resolution of both Democratic Houses that the mere act of presenting articles of impeachment in this case at any rate suspends the impeached persons from official duty, and makes a vacancy; to elect Thurman President of the Senate, if Tilden took the oath at the right time—as many believe he did, and the statement to that effect has never been denied by him—to induct him into the Presidency; and if he did not, then the "vacancy" to be filled by Thurman. That some such movements are in contemplation is evident from what leaks out every now and then from persons supposed to know the hidden purposes of the revolutionists.

Some of the active measures proposed for putting Hayes out and Tilden in—The Impeachment plan.

Thus we gather something of this sort from the following dispatch in the *New York Tribune*, June 15:

WASHINGTON, June 14.—A fact which may throw some light upon the real purposes actuating those who engineered the Potter resolution through the House has just come out here. It seems, according to excellent Democratic authority, that several months before the Potter resolution was passed, Mr. Manton Marble and General Barlow approached leading Democratic members of the House of Representatives and men prominent in the party, and urged them to begin active measures for ousting President Hayes as soon as the Democrats should secure control of both Houses of Congress. One reason which they urged was that it would be a good piece of party strategy, because if Governor Tilden was given two years of the present Presidential term his ambition would be satisfied, and he could easily be put out of the way for 1890. The consultations of these gentlemen, who were known to be working in the interest of Governor Tilden, all indicate that the main purpose of the present movement, in the minds of those who were responsible for it, has been to remove President Hayes from the office he now holds. Now that public opinion has driven the Democrats to declare that the President's title cannot be attacked, those who formerly talked of putting him out through suits in the Supreme Court, or by joint resolution recognizing Governor Tilden, are almost all talking of impeachment instead.

Another Plan for Voting Hayes out and Thurman in.

The *Washington Capital*, Aug. 11, 1878, a paper supposed to have special sources of information: as to the designs of the Democratic revolutionary leaders, says that "after the 4th of March Allen G. Thurman will be President of the Senate, and prepared to fill one of the two vacancies 'which certain persons' are busy demonstrating to the people to exist in the President's and Vice President's offices. This will not elect Mr. Tilden—he not being eligible through a strange defect in the law which makes it necessary for the President-elect to be sworn in at a certain date after being elected. This is in part the scheme for a strong Government, conceived and organized by that form of capital which net-works our land in the shape of railroads, and has for its managers the boldest, most unscrupulous and efficient knaves of all that class of financial schemers

that grow rich on other men's earnings. It was their intent to seat one of their number—Mr. Tilden himself—in the Presidency, but they will accept Allen G. Thurman. To them the smoke that indicates the fire upon the plains is not distant. The danger is at hand, and they seek to fight fire with fire. * * * This is neither impeachable nor revolutionary, and is far stronger and more efficient than any military Wall street thieving organization, with Grant as its figure-head, that will come in just thirty days too late to be of use."

Further Proof of their Present Purposes—Springer's Declarations.

That the Democratic leaders are bent upon declaring the Potter investigation allegations proven; that they intend to take action; that the action which they propose to take is in the line of impeachment; and that they intend by the mere action of a Democratic majority of both Houses—should they then control both Houses—to declare the offices of both the President and Vice President vacant upon the presentation of the articles of impeachment to the Senate is rendered as clear as daylight by the recent statement of Springer, Democratic member of the Potter committee, in an interview with the reporter of a Western paper, wherein he is represented as saying that enough had already been brought out by that committee to warrant the impeachment of President Hayes, and there will be no trouble on that score, as the Democrats will have a majority of the Senate after the 4th of March next."

And the following telegram in a New York paper of August 5, 1878, is confirmatory not only of Springer's conclusions, but as to those of others of his Democratic friends on the Potter committee:

WASHINGTON, August 4.—Mr. Springer, of the Potter committee, talks very freely of "the case," as he calls it, which to his mind has already been established by the Potter committee. He regards it as one which will not only justify impeachment, but which demands it. He thinks the Wormley Hotel conference, in connection with the subsequent action of the Louisiana commission, quite sufficient to sustain articles of impeachment, and he fully expects the House to present them at an early day. Such talk doubtless reflects the views of several members of the Potter committee.

CHAPTER V.

A History of Democratic Election Frauds.

PART I.

"Counting in"—A Democratic invention, and peculiarly a Democratic practice—"Counting in" of James K. Polk as President in 1844—of James Buchanan in 1857—The Disastrous Consequences to the Nation—The attempted "counting" in of Samuel J. Tilden in 1876—A brief review of the immense Democratic Frauds in the Campaigns of 1844-'57 compared with those of 1876.

In 1844, in the Presidential campaign of that year, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was notoriously "counted into" the Presidency over Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who had been elected President fairly by the voice of the American people.

Who was Henry Clay? Who James K. Polk? Who the arch conspirators by whom Clay was robbed of the Presidency—by whom the American people were cheated of their choice as Chief Magistrate; and what the agencies or means by which a result so disastrous to the nation was accomplished? What the motives or ends which influenced the agencies for a result so lamentable?

Just now, in presence of Tilden's and the Democratic efforts to seize the Presidency by Mexicanizing the Republic—by subverting the Constitution and the laws—these inquiries are pertinent and pregnant ones. We will answer them as briefly as possible.

The "Great Commoner," Henry Clay, who would "rather be right than be President!"—His Unknown Democrat Opponent, James K. Polk.

For nearly a half century, in 1844, from 1797, when Kentucky was framing a new State constitution, Henry Clay had been active in the service of his country. A Senator of the United States in 1806, when only twenty-nine years old, and dis-

tinguished even at that early age for eminent ability and eloquence; unrivaled subsequently as the Speaker and leader of the House; equally brilliant in the Senate and Cabinet, in war as in peace, as a statesman, orator and diplomat; pre-eminent for his chivalrous courage and lofty patriotism, and probably the only man of his time who could, without personal ridicule, have uttered his celebrated apothegm, "*I would rather be right than President!*"

Such was Henry Clay, "The Great Commoner," the Whig candidate for President in 1844. While his opponent, Polk, was so little known, his services to the nation of such little consequence, that upon his nomination by the Democracy the cry went throughout the Republic, "Who is James K. Polk?"

The vote by which Clay was rightfully elected and entitled to the Presidency—The villainous Democratic frauds by which he was "counted out,"

Henry Clay was the choice of the American people for President, and a decided majority of the votes actually cast was thrown for him. He was chosen President by the voice of his countrymen, and under the Constitution and laws—by all the rules of right—was entitled to the Presidency. None now doubts that. As a matter of history it is notorious. Nevertheless, in the House, in 1845, the electoral vote counted was: For Polk, 170; for Clay, 105; while Polk's minority on the popular vote was 24,119. The electoral colleges counted for Polk included that of New York, (36,) Pennsylvania, (26,) Georgia, (10,) Louisiana, (6)—in all 78 votes—to all of which Clay was entitled by decided popular majorities in all those States. Hence, add those 78 votes to Clay's 105 and deduct them from Polk's 170, will give Clay 183 votes and reduce Polk to 92, making Clay's majority in the electoral colleges 91, the real result of the canvass, but which was defeated by the deliberately planned frauds of the Democracy. Even strike from Polk's 170 New York's 36 votes, which State Clay confessedly carried by from 5,000 to 10,000

majority, will leave Polk but 134 electoral votes and give Clay 141, a majority of 7 in the colleges.

Samuel J. Tilden's guilty complicity in the Democratic villainy!

In all these villainous frauds, Samuel J. Tilden, in New York, aided by the notorious Isaiah Rynders and his cohort of unprincipled ruffians, and in Louisiana by the equally notorious John Slidell, a New Yorker by birth, was, as a leading Democrat of the Empire State, the headquarters of the conspiracy for the defeat of Clay, an active and efficient co-worker. It is not strange, therefore, that Tilden, who in the campaign of 1876, simply attempted, in behalf of himself, to repeat the frauds of 1844 against Clay, should be chagrined at his failure, and that he and his partisans should so fiercely denounce fraud against the Republicans as they did in 1844 denounce Clay and the Whigs.

The Gambler's Conspiracy at the bottom of these grave Democratic crimes—And Tilden's guilty participation in them.

That Henry Clay was entitled, and confessedly entitled, to the electoral votes of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Louisiana—seventy-eight in all—which, by fraud, by the "counting-in" process which the Democracy now charge against the Republicans, were counted for Polk, we have before us the proofs in a number of shapes. They cannot be questioned. In 1844 a combination of gamblers, through a system of betting all over the country in favor of Polk, as in the canvass of 1876 in favor of Tilden, secured by their winnings the means of defraying the expenses of the frauds. That was notoriously so in New York, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana.—Horace Greeley, in 1868, in one of his "*Open Letters to a Politician*"—to Sam'l J. Tilden—reminds Tilden of these grave crimes, and of his participation in them. All may see the details at length in Greeley's *Life of Henry Clay*, in Calvin Colton's, in "*The Whig Review*," and kindred works, of the wholesale and systematic villainy, the great crime, by which the illustrious Clay was defrauded of New York and the other States—by agencies similar to those which, in 1868, in New York, Tilden "counted in" Seymour and Hoffman when Grant and Griswold had carried the State.

"Counting in" peculiarly a Democratic Process—The bogus Democratic vote of New York in 1844—The Pennsylvania Democratic frauds of that year.

This "counting in" is peculiarly a Democratic process—an invention to which the

Democracy, and only the Democracy, have a sole and undisputed right.

In New York, in 1844, of the popular vote Polk was in a minority of 10,706 votes. His plurality over Clay was only 5,106. That he obtained in the city and its surroundings by fraudulent naturalization, by repeating and ballot-box stuffing; by the manufacture and count, through such infamous agencies, of from 10,000 to 15,000 bogus votes. Some place the number as high as 20,000.

In Pennsylvania the frauds were equally flagrant. At the October election it was admitted by the best posted of the Democracy that Clay in the State was at least 10,000 votes stronger than General Markle, the Whig candidate for Governor. Hence, in order to beat Clay in November, Shunk's majority must reach 10,000. It was only 4,282, fully 6,000 less than the Democratic estimate as absolutely necessary to beat Clay. Nevertheless, Clay was beaten. His vote, as the Democracy had calculated, was 5,200 greater than Markle's, and was drawn principally from Shunk's; yet Polk's majority in the State was 6,332.

The Democratic "model" which inspired Tilden's infamous Democratic secret circular of 1868.

In was in this canvass in Pennsylvania that the model of Tilden's infamous confidential circular of 1868, by which he arranged the machinery for the fraudulent count of New York for Seymour and Hoffman, appeared as a secret circular, dated "Harrisburg, January, 1844," and signed by Edward A. Penniman and seventeen Democratic members of the Pennsylvania Legislature as an executive committee. It was distributed only among the faithful, with the injunction that its "contents should be made known only to such of our (Democratic) friends as will keep their own council and assist in organizing the party;" and urged that "it is very desirable that it should not appear in any newspaper or be communicated to our political opponents." It particularly enjoined the faithful "to secure a large turn out at the election of judges and inspectors (of the polls.) This done, we shall have the vantage ground, and an easy victory will be ours." So it proved. By securing the judges and inspectors of the polls, the count of any number by the Democracy was a very easy matter.

The Democratic frauds that in 1844 gave Georgia to Polk.

In Georgia, in 1844, and it may be so now, by the tax-list, the exact number of legal voters in the State could be readily

ascertained. By that list there were in the State 78,611 votes. At the Presidential election 86,277 votes were cast. Even supposing, therefore, that every legal voter in the State attended at the polls—the decrepid, aged, sick, and dying—there was still a fraud of 7,666 votes. By whom were these polled? In the Whig counties less than the legal vote as shown by the tax-list was polled; but in the Democratic counties of Forsyth, Lumpkin, Habersham and Franklin the lawful vote was 3,202. They returned a vote of 4,014 for Polk and 1,825 for Clay—in all 5,835—a fraud in these four counties alone of 2,633; and so on throughout all the Democratic counties of Georgia. Nevertheless Polk's majority in the State was only 2,077.

The infamous Democratic frauds in Louisiana—Open, notorious, shameful.

In Louisiana the frauds were truly villainous. No attempt was ever made to disguise or cover them. They were open, notorious and shameful. John Slidell was their infamous engineer, and under his manipulation thousands of fraudulent votes were counted for Polk in New Orleans and all along the Mississippi river. A single instance will illustrate all. Up to the day of the rebellion—up to 1861—the largest aggregate vote polled in Plaquemine parish was 550; in 1844 it gave Polk 1,007 majority, while his majority in the State was only 699.

Thus Tilden and the Democracy of 1844 "counted" Polk "in."

Thus, in 1844, throughout the country, fraud by Tilden and the Democracy was reduced to a system. Through its results James K. Polk, the weak but ambitious tool of the pro-slavery oligarch, was "counted in," and the gallant and patriotic Clay, the illustrious "Great Commoner," whose services to the nation in war and peace constitute the brightest pages in its civil history, was robbed of the Presidency—was robbed by Tilden and the Democracy.

The Pennsylvania Democratic frauds by which in 1857 intrepid Fremont was robbed of his rights, and weak "Buchanan" "counted in"

Later, in 1857, by similar frauds in Pennsylvania, by the same parties, accomplished through like agencies, John C. Fremont was cheated of the same high office, and James Buchanan, another weak and equally pliant tool of the oligarchal conspirators of 1844, was fraudulently placed in the chair of Washington,

manifestly under pledges to complete the traitorous work for the destruction of the Republic begun by Polk.

Tilden's wholesale frauds in 1876 at the North—His Mississippi shot-gun policy at the South.

The campaign of 1876 Tilden mode'd upon that of 1844. By similar agencies or arts, by wholesale and systematic frauds in the North, he succeeded in carrying New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana; and in the South, by the murderous Mississippi shot-gun policy, effected the manufacture of the fictitious figures which constitute his pretended popular majority.

What miseries the success of the Democratic frauds of 1844 and 1857 entailed upon the Nation.

In 1844 and 1857 the oligarchal conspirators succeeded in disfranchising the nation. In 1876 they failed only by a count of one. In 1844 their fraudulent success entailed upon the nation the crimes of Polk's disastrous reign—the "unholy" Mexican war for the aggrandizement of slavery, exacting of the nation a sacrifice of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of treasure; his iniquitous free-trade tariff; his hostility to internal improvements, and kindred measures, all in the interest of the pro-slavery oligarchy; the fatal reopening of the slavery question, precipitated by the struggle of the sections for the possession of the territory seized from Mexico, and which, in 1861, under the manipulation of Buchanan and the Democracy, culminated in the appalling crimes of the rebellion.

The success of the Democratic frauds of 1876 would have brought upon the Republic humiliation and ruin.

In 1876 their success was intended to be as disastrous as those of 1844 and 1857. The Confederacy had failed in its attempt to destroy the Republic. Its prestige and pride were humbled, and in the murderous struggle provoked by its crimes its losses had been immense. Tilden's success was intended to redress all that. A restoration of the Confederate to power and place in the Government was to be followed by the humiliation of loyalty—the abasement of the nation at the feet of the rebel; and the ruin of the Republic was to be effected by the confiscation of its property and means in the payment of thousands of millions of fraudulent claims as indemnity to the Confederate for losses in the rebellion.

PART II.

Popular and Electoral Votes of Harrison and Van Buren, Polk and Clay, Harrison and Cass—Tilden's Pretended "Immense" popular majority—Some voting statistics touching the Gulf and other States—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina all fairly Republican States—How Southern States were "counted in" for Tilden.

A persistent effort has been made by Mr. Tilden and his friends, ever since his defeat, to impress the country with the idea that he had received an immense majority of the popular vote for President. The facts warrant no such conclusion. Nor does it follow that such a majority would necessarily secure his election, whether it was small or large.

"Popular votes" not necessary to the election of a President—It is the electoral vote that tells—Some Presidential examples.

Under our electoral system the popular majority is a secondary consideration. Thus Delaware and Nevada, which together cast only 43,824 votes, all told, for President in 1876, had six electoral votes, as many as California, which cast 154,459 votes.

In 1840, in a total vote of 2,410,782, Harrison had a popular majority of only 139,250, but carried 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60.

In 1844, Polk had 24,119 popular majority against him, yet he counted 170 electoral votes to Clay's 105.

In 1848, General Harrison had 151,808 popular majority against him, but received 163 electoral votes to 127 for Mr. Cass.

These examples might be multiplied, and serve to show that a popular majority is not necessary to the election of a President.

The facts in the Presidential election of 1876—What vote on the surface.

But while this is true, the facts in the election of 1876 show that the case of Mr. Hayes is not exceptional, like the examples cited; that he was, in fact, the first choice of a majority of the voters of the country.

The aggregate vote for President was 8,399,297, divided as follows: Hayes,

4,033,295; Tilden, 4,284,265, and Cooper, 81,737. Tilden's majority on these figures, 157,394.

Ordinarily this result would be regarded as conclusive, and would show the relative strength of the candidates before the people; but the election of 1876 warrants no such conclusion. On the other hand, the facts conclusively prove that these figures, like Mr. Tilden's boasted election and majority, are utterly fictitious and false—that they do not represent the popular will at that time. This will appear by a further analysis of the vote of 1876.

The popular vote in the Free States, Border States and Slave States grouped and compared with census of voting population.

In the former (or present) free States there was cast a total of 5,622,210 votes, of which Hayes received 2,939,729 and Tilden, 2,682,481; majority for Hayes, 257,248.

In the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas the total vote was 1,830,219. For Hayes, 744,747; for Tilden, 1,085,472; Tilden's majority, 340,825.

In South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana the vote was 890,811, of which Hayes received 362,231 and Tilden, 528,590; Tilden's majority, 166,359.

According to the census of 1870, the latest enumeration available, there were in the Northern States at that time 4,850,151 male citizens over twenty-one years of age. The vote for President in those States, as has already been shown was 5,622,210. Increase over the enumeration, 772,059.

In the second group of States the enumeration was 1,800,639; total vote for President, 1,815,009. Increase over the enumeration, only 14,370.

In the last group, or Gulf States, the enumeration was 973,714; total vote for Hayes and Tilden, 890,811. Loss on the enumeration, 82,903.

Recapitulation: In the free States, where the election was free, fair, and full, there was a gain of 772,059 voters. In the border slave States, where Republicans are kept in hopeless minorities, and did not cast their full vote, the increase was only 14,370. In the Southern Republican States, where Republican majorities were subverted by armed violence, the loss was 82,903.

Assuming that the increase of voters in these States was of equal ratio to the free States, the increase over the enumeration

would have been 114,714. Adding the loss of 82,903 to this amount, and we have 197,617 votes, or about one in six, not cast in the six States last named.

The real voting strength of the Gulf States—Showing in 1870 a total colored majority of 57,335.

But there is another and still more reliable method of ascertaining the real voting strength and popular will of those States. In 1870 the voters were divided as follows :

	White.	Color'd
Alabama.....	104,276	105,612
Florida.....	19,211	20,170
Georgia.....	127,785	119,920
Louisiana.....	72,413	80,126
Mississippi.....	76,577	97,724
South Carolina.....	57,933	91,978
Total.....	458,195	515,530
Colored majority.....		57,335

And exhibiting a total Republican majority of 183,335 in 1870.

In ascertaining the Republican strength South two estimates may be made that are perfectly reliable. First, that the colored vote is solidly Republican; secondly, that a small per cent. of the white vote is Republican; much depending on the locality and the freedom of election. The division of voters on this basis is shown in the following table :

	Republican.		Democrat.
	Colored.	White.	White.
Alabama.....	105,612	15,000	89,276
Florida.....	20,170	3,000	16,211
Georgia.....	119,920	20,000	107,785
Louisiana.....	80,126	10,000	62,413
Mississippi.....	97,724	10,000	66,577
South Carolina.....	91,978	5,000	52,933
	515,530	63,000	395,195

Total Republican vote.....578,530
Total Democratic vote.....395,195

Republican majority.....183,335

These figures are based on the population and enumeration of 1870.

Subsequent changes of population favor the Republicans, especially in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana,

Whatever changes have taken place since that time, and they are considerable, are favorable to the Republicans. This is notably true of South Carolina, Missis-

issippi, and Louisiana. These three States continued under Republican control long after the States adjoining had fallen under Democratic dominion. Democratic rule was accompanied by the abolishment of colored schools and harsh and proscriptive administration. Thereupon there was an exodus of negroes from those States to the others, where the rights and interests of their race were respected, their children educated, and the ruling powers were friendly. The States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas contributed many thousands of their colored voters on this account to South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The last election affords abundant proof of this statement. Take

South Carolina

for example. The vote in this State for the years named was as follows :

1868—Republican.....	62,301
Democratic.....	45,207
Republican majority.....	17,094
1870—Republican.....	85,071
Democratic.....	51,537
Republican majority.....	33,534
1872—Republican.....	72,290
Democratic.....	22,703
Republican majority.....	49,587

It has already been shown that the total white vote in 1870 was 57,933, and the colored vote 91,978, the total being 149,911, and the colored majority 34,545.

1876—Republican vote.....	91,870
Democratic vote.....	91,076
Total.....	182,946
Vote of 1870.....	149,911
Increase.....	33,035

A passing reference to the past white population of South Carolina leaves no doubt that this increase was almost wholly colored. The United States census furnish the following figures.

1830.....	257,863
1840.....	259,084
1850.....	274,563
1860.....	291,300
1870.....	289,667

Thus it will be seen that the white population of the State has been almost stationary for the past half century. It will not be argued by the Opposition that it has received marvelous increase under the very odious (!) Republican Administration since reconstruction. Whence, then, the 33,035 votes added to the poll-books? If they are not white they must be colored, and this is the fact. Then we have the actual vote of South Carolina, confirmed by this test, as follows :

Colored.....124,033
White.....57,933

Colored majority.....66,100

Mississippi Republican by 40,000 majority, yet "counted in" by "51,500 majority" for Tilden.

Next take Mississippi. The colored majority in 1870 was 21,157. Alcorn was elected Republican Governor in 1869 by a majority of 38,089. Grant's majority in 1872 was 35,119. It is admitted by all conversant with the political affairs of the State that the present colored majority is fully 40,000. Yet Mr. Tilden carried the State, much as a storming party carries intrenchments, by a majority of 51,468. How was this done? Take the five following counties to illustrate:

	1876.		1872.		1860.		
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	
Hinds	1,474	4,503	4,015	1,539	3,819	1,415	
Lowndes	2	2,073	3,217	698	4,082	844	
Madison.....	13	1,473	2,512	765	2,508	629	
Warren.....	623	2,036	4,709	1,284	4,641	1,005	
Yazoo	2	3,672	2,433	922	2,642	815	
	2,114	13,757	16,886	5,208	17,692	4,708	

Here was an actual loss of 15,578 Republican votes in four counties, and of 6,223 on the aggregate vote of 1872, in counties where the colored vote has been increased by immigration fully 2,500 since that year. The returns from other parts of the State are in keeping with these. It is needless to recount the means that operated to effect this change. Suffice to say that a Government which allows its citizens to be outraged in this manner and suffers itself directly from the outrage does not appear to be worth preserving. The State of Mississippi as rightfully belongs to Hayes and the Republican cause as Massachusetts or Vermont. Yet it was counted for Mr. Tilden by 51,500 majority, without even allowing the Republicans of the State the poor privilege of protesting against the fraud.

Mr. Potter may boast of 300,000, and Mr. Tilden exult over 157,394 majority on the face of the returns, but the facts, as herein shown, establish the utter falsity of the claim.

PART III.

Florida—Bloody violence failing, fraud and judicial usurpation resorted to—A brief history of the entire series of fraudulent proceedings by which Tilden strove to capture that one needed electoral vote—Facts, figures and incidents.

Following is a summary of the entire "Florida case" in brief:

Bloody violence and ballot-box debauchery.

At the election in Florida of Presidential electors, November 7, 1876, every expedient, whether fraudulent or violent, was employed by the Tildenites to secure a majority at the polls—at least to secure a majority on the face of the returns. In the Democratic counties all the election machinery was in the hands of the Tildenites. The "Mississippi shot-gun policy" was their favorite; but when that failed the resort was to debauch the ballot-boxes or manipulate the returns. A denial of bloody violence during the canvass is not seriously pretended; it cannot be successfully maintained.

The State at first conceded to Hayes—One vote needed for Tilden—The whole situation thereupon changes—The Attorney General denies his Master, the People—"And immediately the Cocke crew."

Early after the day of voting the returns from the Republican counties were received at Tallahassee—Escambia, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Alachua, Duval, Nassau, and Marion; and their aggregate majority, (7,418 for Hayes) was publicly known. The returns from Baker and Dade subsequently increased that to 7,463. The State by the Democracy was conceded to Hayes by a handsome majority. It was not considered probable that the Republican majority would or could be overcome in the Democratic counties; nor was it pretended as possible until the vote of the State became necessary to Tilden's election. Instantly, then, the whole situation was changed. The State was claimed by the Democracy. A clamor of fraud was raised by them as a blind to the villainy by which the Tildenites, in the Democratic counties, remote from the capital

and difficult of access, proposed to destroy Hayes' majority; and, as a part of the conspiracy to that end, the Democratic Attorney General of the State telegraphed North:

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., November 14, 1876.
The returns from the county managers not yet in. The Board of State Canvassers, of which I, as Attorney General, am one, does not meet for thirty-five days after the election, but you may rest assured that Tilden has carried the State and Drew is elected. I do not think the Radicals can cheat the Democrats out of the State.
WILLIAM ARCHER COCKE.

Now, if the returns were not yet in at the date of this dispatch, where did Cocke get his information? How did he know that the State had voted for Tilden? The Republicans, from the returns actually in, from their aggregate majority as compared with the results of previous elections, knew that the State had voted for Hayes by a decisive majority. But how and where did Cocke obtain his information? What special means had he of communicating with the Democratic counties, so remote from Tallahassee and so difficult of access? Is not the answer plain?

First warning to the Republicans—The Tilden Democrats cut the wires, wreck trains and bull-doze the Governor's couriers.

This dispatch of the Democratic Attorney General of the State was a warning to the Republicans of the fraudulent plots at work. It aroused them to action. But all the efforts of Governor Stearns to secure the actual results of the election—to protect the ballot-boxes and returns from mutilation and fraud—were resisted by the most violent agencies. The telegraph wires were cut, a train, in which were some of the Governor's messengers to the western counties, was ku-kluxed and wrecked, and his couriers were intercepted and turned back with the warning threat that if they dared to proceed without a pass from Mr. Pasco, the chairman of the Democratic committee at Tallahassee, they would be assassinated.

But in spite of all this, and much more, Hayes has a majority on the face of the returns of 43.

Even under such circumstances, with violence and fraud rampant throughout the Democratic sections of the State, the returns of all the counties, excepting those of Dade, when opened on the 28th of November, showed on their face a majority of 43 for the Hayes electors, to wit:

HAYES ELECTORS.		TILDEN ELECTORS.	
Humphreys	24,328	Yonge	24,284
Pearce	24,324	Call	24,285
Long	24,323	Hilton	24,283
Holmes	24,328	Bullock	24,282

The returns from Dade, which were received on Monday, December 4, were: For Hayes, 9; for Tilden, 4.

Clamor of "fraud" against the Republicans—Bribery rampant—Tilden's "barrel of gold" at work.

This result, although a serious disappointment to the Democracy, yet incited and nerved the Tildenites to renewed clamors of fraud against the Republicans, and they now settled down in dead earnest to the desperate work of wresting the State from its Republican majority. Falsehoods and false charges of fraud against the Republicans were systematically telegraphed over the country as a means of prejudging the canvass of votes, perjurers were recruited with bribes to sustain these charges, and unscrupulous partisan counsel, feed from the notorious "barrel of gold," were imported from the North to superintend and manage the efforts to capture the State for Tilden.

The Board of State canvassers—The law governing their action.

Under the fourth section of the law of Florida, approved February 27, 1872, the Board of State Canvassers consisted of the Secretary of State, Samuel B. McLin, who was elected its president; Comptroller of Accounts, Clayton A. Cowgill, and Attorney General William Archer Cocke. The two former were classed as Republicans; the latter is a Democrat, and all three are native sons of the South. Under the same section the canvassing board is required to meet in the office of the Secretary of State within thirty-five days after any general or special election, and proceed to canvass the returns and determine and declare who shall have been elected, as shown by such returns. It commands: "If any such returns shall be shown, or shall appear, to be so *irregular, false or fraudulent*, that the board shall be unable to determine the true vote for any such officer or member, they shall so certify, and shall not include such return in their determination and declaration."

Attorney General Cocke objected to as a member of the Board because of prejudgment—He goes on his knees and is forgiven.

Hence the canvassing board began its sessions on the 27th of November. Attorney General Cocke's unfitness to serve with the board was urged, on the ground that he had prejudged the case, even before the receipt of the returns, and that consequently he could not render an impartial judgment; but that gentle-

man, having earnestly pledged himself that he would be governed in his action by his oath and the facts, the objection to his acting was withdrawn.

The Board under Democratic counsel, rule and precedent proceed to business and find a majority for Hayes.

Under the written opinion of this gentleman, the Democratic Attorney General of the State, and the legal adviser of the board, given in 1874, with the applause of the Democracy, and in accordance with the practice adopted under that opinion in the canvass of that year, by which the Democracy so greatly profited, a contest of the county returns, or of the vote of any county or of any precinct of a county, was allowed. The Democratic Attorney General in substance declared: "It is the duty of the board to seek the true returns." Accordingly the canvassing board proceeded to find the true vote of the State. The returns of all the counties were opened, and upon their face, as stated above, showed a majority of 43 for Hayes. The subsequent return from Dade increased that majority to 48.

The Democracy at once cry "fraud"—The Republicans tax Democratic counties with "shenanogan."

The Democracy immediately assailed the returns from Baker and other counties, and the Republicans filed objections to the returns from a number of Democratic counties and precincts. All these, under the express commands of the laws of the State, the written advice of the Democratic Attorney General, and the previous practice of the board under both, the board determined to inquire into. But the twenty-four uncontested counties—to wit, Brevard, Bradford, Calhoun, Dade, Escambia, Franklin, Gadsden, Hillsborough, Holmes, Lafayette, Liberty, Madison, Marion, Putnam, Polk, Santa Rosa, Sumter, St. John's, Suwanee, Taylor, Volusia, Wakulla, Walton, and Washington—were first taken up and canvassed according to the face of the returns.

The Board investigated for the "true" returns—Much unanimity in its findings—The counties of Baker, Clay, Hernando, Nassau, Levy, Orange, Leon, Hamilton, Monroe, Jefferson and Manatee.

The board then entered into an investigation for the true returns in the contested counties. The investigation was public. In all its proceedings, in all its findings, or means of ascertaining the true return, it acted upon the opinions and advice of its

legal adviser, the Democratic Attorney General of the State. It of course consulted other counsel. But those, in their opinions, only confirmed the general principles laid down for their rule of action by the Attorney General. Indeed, there was little actual discord or difference among its members. Thus, in the counties of Baker, Clay, Hernando, Nassau, Levy, Orange, Leon, Hamilton, and Monroe the true return was found, as nearly as was possible, by the *unanimous vote* of the board, Attorney General Cocke voting with his Republican associates in the findings and count. In Jefferson county sixty votes were unanimously deducted from the Republican count; the remainder of the county was counted. The vote of Manatee county was rejected because of the entire absence of all legal preparation for holding the election. No election, in fact, was held.

Alachua County—Democratic ballot-box stuffing—Bold perjuries and confessed bribes.

In Alachua county a determined effort was made by the Democracy to destroy the count of Archer precinct No. 2. It was largely Republican. All election day it was made the rendezvous of leading Democrats. All day they plotted to destroy the vote of the precinct. But how? At night, after the close of the polls, the vote was canvassed, counted, and compared with the poll-lists, duly certified and signed by all the election officers—two Democrats and two Republicans—and, after the sealing of the ballot-boxes, the vote and majority was announced—about the usual and previously unquestioned majority. The ballot-boxes were then placed in the court-house, an insecure building, with loose shutters, and yielding fastenings. This the Democrats guarded at night on the pretence of protecting the ballot-boxes; but so negligently that some one entered, opened the boxes, extracted some of the ballots, and substituted others. But who? The Republicans had no motive for the act. The safety of those ballots was the guarantee of their returns. Their manipulation so as to change the announced and returned result was their loss, but was an immense gain for the Democracy. There was no doubt in the matter. Even the bold perjuries and confessed bribes of the Democratic witnesses, Green R. Moores and Floyd Dukes, demonstrate who were the guilty parties and what the manifest object of the crime. That no doubt should be had about the accuracy of the canvass, the Republicans verified their votes by the affidavits of the persons vot-

ing; but the Democrats utterly failed in their attempt at a verification of their pretended vote. Hence the canvassing board accepted and counted the returns thus verified.

Baker and Duvall counties—The Democratic deviltries in Jackson county—The canvass completed.

In canvassing Baker county, a Democratic county, the Republican members of the board voted with Cocke; and in Duvall County the board, after verifying the county returns by a comparison with the precinct returns, determined to count the vote.

In Jackson county, Campbellton and Friendship Church precincts were thrown out because the election and returns were frauds upon the election laws. At the Campbellton precinct the ballot-box at the adjournment for dinner was taken from the polling-booth, placed in an adjoining store unsealed, and concealed from the public. At the close of the poll the ballots were not counted nor compared with the number of names on the poll list, and only 76 Republican votes were returned where 138 swore that they had voted. At Friendship Church precinct the ballot-box was hidden from the view of the public and of the voters, even when voting; a supervisor—not an inspector—received the ballots at a window above the heads of the voters, below the sill of which, out of sight, was placed the ballot-box. Instead of making and completing the canvass at the polling-booth, without adjournment and in view of the public, the boxes were removed two miles away to a bedroom, where the returns were made up without counting the ballots or comparing them with the poll-lists. The county, with these deductions, was canvassed. That completed the canvass.

An "Emphatic" Weather-Cocke's admissions—Manton Marble and the other Tilden agents "see" the Attorney General.

And in all its decisions the canvassing board was governed by the advice of the Democratic Attorney General. In the rejection of Hamilton county, Cocke was emphatic in his declaration that it should be rejected. He was equally decided in the rejection of Monroe. When appealed to for his legal opinion, he said: "*It must be thrown out.*" But when the extent and reckless character of the Democratic frauds began to dawn upon him, he got *frightened and nervous* at the results of his advice. When compelled to reject

Hamilton county, he said: "*This elects Hayes.*" When Jackson, with its eighty unpunished murders was passed in review and rejected, he said: "*This elects Stearns.*" And he only proposed to recede from his action after an interview with Manton Marble & Co. But there was no retreat. The board could only act upon the facts under the law in the light of its duty impartially performed. It could not exclude or count votes for the single purpose of electing Tilden and Drew; it must reject all returns vitiated by proved fraud. That it did, and that only.

The final result of the count—Hayes' majority 923—What it "might have been."

The result, as found by the board, was as follows:

FOR HAYES ELECTORS.	FOR TILDEN ELECTORS.
Humphreys..... 23,849	Yonge..... 22,923
Pearce..... 23,844	Call..... 22,919
Holden..... 23,848	Hilton..... 22,921
Long..... 23,843	Bullock..... 22,919

Majority for Hayes 923; and the evidence of their own witnesses before the Congressional investigating committee of 1876 demonstrates that if there had been a fair election, even an honest return of the election actually held, Hayes' majority, instead of being only 923, would have ranged between 2,000 and 3,000 votes.

The baffled Tildenites self-stultification—They fly to the Democratic courts to force the defunct State Canvassing Board to come to life and action.

Yet the Democracy were not happy. Their situation was as deplorable as it was desperate. They had been baffled at every turn. Violence, fraud, bribery, and perjury had all failed them, and yet the State must be captured for Tilden. All will remember the situation. South Carolina had been surrendered. In Louisiana they had no hope. Hence Florida must be wrested from Hayes. But how to do it? How to assail the finding of the canvassing board? It had acted under the law—under the Democratic theory of its meaning, and under the opinion and advice of the Democratic Attorney General, the highest law officer of the Government of Florida. Stultification was their only recourse. They must assail the powers of the board. They had contended that it was clothed with judicial powers; that its duty was to go behind the returns and find the true vote. They now assailed that position. They appealed to the State Court to compel the canvassing board, a political body, and that body *functus offi-*

cio under the law creating it—it having performed the functions imposed upon it by law and adjourned *sine die*. They appealed to the judiciary to force the board to revive, to review its canvass of the votes of the State, and to count in Tilden and Drew; to the court to perform a political and partisan act for the maintenance of crimes, of which murder, ballot box stuffing, forgery of returns, bribery, and perjury were the demonstrated elements.

The Democratic court complies—An usurpation—Yet still Hayes had a majority.

The Democratic court readily complied. Its *mandamus* to the canvassing board was an usurpation as violent as it was novel. It was a process unknown to the law. It violated the laws of Florida. It changed the court from a judicial to a political and partisan body—into a canvassing board—and transferred the powers and duties of the board, a body constituted of three members under the laws of Florida, to the court in the person of a single judge. Now, a *mandamus* may issue compelling an officer to act, to perform the functions of his office, but a *mandamus* instructing a political body in the manner of performing its duties, dictating to a canvassing board what it shall count in determining the result of a political election, was an usurpation without a precedent. Even under the recanvass thus forced through the judiciary in violation of law the *Hayes* electors had still a majority by the very vote which elected *Drew*.

Further usurpations by the Democratic Judiciary and Democratic State Legislature—All parts of the Tilden plot.

Like its *mandamus* to the canvassing board, the *quo warranto* proceedings of this debauched court against the electoral college of the State—an inquiry to a body *functus officio*, dead in law, by what right it performed certain functions before it expired—was an “absolute novelty” in law; an usurpation as violent as its purposes were fraudulent. The acts of the Democratic Legislature of Florida were of a like character—simply usurpation without a precedent, retroactive acts to reverse proceedings complete, legal, and final under the laws of the United States and the laws of Florida at the date of their performance—all acts, indeed, in pursuance of a conspiracy for the triumph of fraud and crimes without a parallel in the history of the Republic.

PART IV.

Louisiana—Its population and votes—The Ku-Klux crimes of 1868—The Tilden Rifle Clubs of 1876—Terrible outrages and murders in the seventeen Parishes—The State Returning Board—Its Duties—How and why it acted—Infamy of Tilden and the Democracy.

The following facts and figures prove the Republicanism of Louisiana and the crimes of the Tilden Democratic conspiracy against it:

Population and voters—Republican majority of 20,000 at least.

In 1875 the male population of Louisiana, according to the State census, was: Whites, 404,916; colored, 450,611. Of the white males thousands were aliens and non-voters, merely residents of the State, engaged in commercial pursuits under the treaties with France ceding Louisiana to the United States. In November, 1876, on the day of the Presidential election, the registration in the State stood: Whites, 92,996; colored, 115,310, showing a Republican majority on the face of the register, upon the color line alone, of 22,314. It is estimated that in the State there were not less than 10,000 white Republicans, while not half that number of colored men voted the Democratic ticket. It is therefore a moderate estimate, justified by an overwhelming array of facts, developed during the campaign, that on election day, with a legal and quiet poll of the entire vote of the respective parties, the Republican majority in the State, at the smallest figure, was 20,000 votes.

The Democratic plot—The Tilden conspirators secret circular.

The Tilden Democratic conspirators, backed by no end of Tilden “barrels of gold,” and their minds inflamed by the lust of untold millions in fraudulent rebel claims, decided to overcome this large Republican majority by a deep and devilish plot.

In a “confidential” circular of the Democratic Conservative State Central Committee, at New Orleans, signed by J. W. Patton, president, and P. J. Sullivan, secretary, the organization of clubs was directed in the different parishes. The circular urged that in conversation no gloomy forebodings should be indulged in, and that the result of the election should be spoken of as a foregone conclusion, “as we have the means of carrying the

election, and intend to do so. But be careful to say and do nothing that can be construed into a threat or intimidation of any character." Frequent meetings of all these clubs were enjoined. Their members were instructed to occasionally assemble at their several places of meeting, and to proceed thence on horseback to the central rendezvous. "Proceedings of that character would impress the negroes with a sense of the united strength" of the Democracy. And it directed that on election day, at each polling place, affidavits should be prepared, affirming "that there has been no intimidation and no disturbance on account of any efforts by the Democratic Conservative party to prevent any one from voting on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

How these secret instructions were carried out—Rifle Clubs and "Knights of the White Camilia" dragging the Parishes—Mutilation, maiming, whipping, murdering and general terror!

It was a villainous conspiracy and literally pursued to its devilish consequences. Clubs were formed in the parishes. The old murderous White-Leaguers reorganized as rifle-clubs, as "Knights of the White Camelia." These, mounted, masked, and armed, dragged the parishes night and day, and ruled in terror and blood, amid assassination and outrages and violence of every degree and kind—mutilation, maiming, and whippings. No age or sex was respected—none was spared. The evidence, multiplied in a hundred shapes, is overwhelming, and is as revolting in its terrible details as it is conclusive in its proofs. The historical sanguinary violence of the "Franco-Spanish blood"—the sources of Louisiana's white population—was indulged without restraint. The old hellish terrorism of Murat, Couthon and St. Just, those cruel demons of the French revolution of 1798, were revived in Louisiana in all its frightful horrors. Indeed, throughout the canvass prior to election day murder was king—intimidation rioted as absolute tyrant.

The election held—How the true result was to be determined—The State Returning Board—Its duties under the Law.

The election was held. To determine the true result was the duty, under the laws of Louisiana, of the State canvassing board. "The statute organizing that board declares in substance," as stated by Senator Sherman, "that whenever from any poll or voting-place there shall be received by the board the statement of any

supervisor of registration or commissioner of election, confirmed by the affidavits of three or more citizens, of any riot, tumult, acts of violence, intimidation, armed disturbance, bribery, or corrupt influences, which prevent or tend to prevent, a fair, free and peaceable vote of all qualified electors entitled to vote at such polls, the board shall proceed to investigate the facts, and if from such statement and affidavits they shall be convinced that such causes did not materially interfere with the purity and freedom of such election, or prevent a sufficient number of qualified voters from voting to materially change the result of the election, then such votes shall be canvassed and compiled; but if they are not thus fully convinced, it shall be their duty to examine further testimony in regard thereto, and to that end shall have power to send for persons and papers; and if, after examination, the board shall be convinced that such acts of violence, intimidation, &c., did materially interfere with the purity and freedom of the election at such poll, or did prevent a sufficient number of qualified voters from registering or voting to materially change the result of the election, then the board shall not canvass or compile the vote of such poll, but shall exclude it from their returns."

Why the State Returning Board was created—Terrible Ku-Klux doings of 1868—Democratic intimidations and murders—The Parishes of Orleans, Caddo and Saint Landry and others.

What compelled the State to create this Canvassing Board? It was to protect the State against the "Ku-Klux Klan," which by a series of sanguinary atrocities in 1868 had endeavored to intimidate the colored vote, uproot in the State all the guarantees by which freedom and the suffrage is protected, to purge the State of the "stigma of negro equality," and to seize the State government. Thus one-half of the State—those counties in which colored majorities prevailed—was, just preceding the Presidential campaign of 1868, "over-run by violence, midnight raids, secret murders, and open riots. Ku-Klux notices were scattered everywhere warning the colored men not to vote."

In the documents accompanying President Grant's special message to the Senate, January 13, 1875, communicating the proofs of numberless atrocities at Colfax and elsewhere in Louisiana, is a communication from Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, dated New Orleans, January 10, 1875, to the Secretary of War, in which he says:

Since the year 1866 nearly 3,500 persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that 1,884 were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities, in all but a few cases, have been unable to arrest, convict and punish perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than 1,200 persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant, and Orleans. The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them. * * *

The "glorious Democratic victory" which ensued in 1868 was preceded by one of the most terrible massacres on record. The Republicans, colored and white, for days were hunted through swamps and fields, and over two hundred were killed and wounded. Thirteen helpless captives were taken from the jail and shot, and a pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found in the woods buried. Having thus conquered the Republicans, having thus murdered or expelled their white leaders, the masses were captured by the Ku-Klux, marked with badges of red flannel, enrolled in clubs, led to the polls, and compelled to vote the Democratic ticket. They were then given certificates of the fact.

The effect of this devilish system of terrorism is shown by selecting a few illustrations out of the frightful mass, as developed by Congressional investigation:

In the parish of Orleans, of its 29,910 voters 15,020 were colored, and in the spring of 1868 the parish had polled 13,973 Republican votes, but in the fall, for General Grant, only 1,178 were polled, a falling off of 12,795 votes.

In the parish of Caddo there were 2,987 Republicans. In the spring of 1868 the Republicans carried the parish; in the fall it gave General Grant one vote.

In the parish of St. Landry, in 1868, the Republicans had a registered majority of 1,071 votes. In the spring the Republicans in the parish had polled a majority of 678 votes; in the fall not a vote was cast for General Grant. Seymour and Blair polled the full vote of the parish—4,787 votes.

It was this systematic, organized devilry which compelled the State to create the State Canvassing Board with extraordinary powers to sit in judgment upon the violent conspiracy of the White League Democracy to wrest the local government from the control of its lawful majority. Its duties were not merely to receive and count any and all returns which might be forwarded to it. Its grand duty was to

sit in judgment upon all such returns, to sift and purge them of all fraud, and particularly of fraud perpetrated through organized violence. Its legality was affirmed by the Electoral Commission.

What the Returning Board did in 1876.

How, then, in November, 1876, at its canvass of the vote of Louisiana for the appointment of Presidential electors, did this board execute its responsible and perilous duties? Wisely, justly, equitably, or the contrary? What are the facts?

Under the laws of Louisiana, under the express commands of those laws, requiring them to reject the votes of all parishes in which intimidation and violence had defeated a free election, the board rejected the votes of seventeen parishes—all of them Republican parishes by large majorities, but in which the Democracy claimed 10,000 majority. Why did they reject them?

Why they did it—Another Democratic secret circular—The dreadful work in seventeen rejected Parishes.

In obedience to the "confidential" circular of the Democratic Central Committee of the State, organized clubs of masked men, mounted and armed, for months prior to the Presidential election, dragged the parishes night and day, "marking their course by the whipping, shooting, wounding, maiming, mutilation and murder of women, children and defenceless men, whose homes were forcibly entered while they slept, and, as their inmates fled through fear, the pistol, the rifle, the knife, and the rope were employed to do their horrid work." For this "horrid work," through systematic intimidation, through organized murder and outrage, heavy Republican parishes were selected, like East and West Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, Morehouse, Ouachita, &c., all of which in every previous election had voted heavily Republican, and were manifestly selected because of their contiguity to Mississippi and Arkansas, to whose "border ruffians the appalling villainy of the clubs might be charged." In these seventeen parishes on election day there was a registered Republican majority of nearly 7,000 votes; but the returns from those parishes to the returning board were: For Tilden, 21,123; for Hayes, 10,970—making a Democratic majority of 10,153. The Democracy demanded that such returns, with fraud stamped upon their face, with the horrible agencies by which that fraud had been perpetrated notorious, should be counted for Tilden. Of course, with the certified proofs before it, the board

demurred. Under the command of the law it was their duty to investigate. It did investigate, and the facts developed were revolting.

**The Parish of Ouachita as an example—
The Dinkgrave Murder—The Pinkston
Tragedy.**

Take any one of those parishes; take Ouachita, for example. In 1868 it gave a Republican majority of 1,071; in 1870 it gave a Republican majority of 798; in 1872 a Republican majority of 798; in 1874 a Republican majority of 927. At the Presidential election in 1876, with a *registered Republican majority* of 1,040, a *Democratic majority* of 1,072 was returned. Early in August the *Vienna Sentinel*, a leading Democratic organ of the parish, boasted that in Ouachita the canvass had been reduced to a single ticket, the Democratic nominees. It boasted that the Republicans were wavering, disheartened, *scared*. A few Republicans still dared to keep the field, but it warned them that they were well-known and watched, "and that the halter for their necks is already greased." Bernard H. Dinkgrave, one of those resolute few, a "white man, a cultivated man, and a native of Louisiana," and "against whose character no one has breathed a word," except that he was a Republican, was subsequently brutally assassinated. The details of the murder of Henry Pinkston, the murder of his babe in the arms of his wife, and the revolting outrage and mutilation of the person of his wife by a band of masked men, shocked even the humanity of the Democratic visitors at New Orleans. These are but instances, illustrations, of a multitude of like cases attested by a "cloud of witnesses." Was it singular, therefore, that in these parishes the spirit of the colored man should be broken; that he was "impressed" with the "strength" of the Democracy; that hundreds in their terror fled from the polls, as they had from their homes, into the swamps and fields.

A comparison of results in the "bull-dozed" Parishes with the Parishes not "bull-dozed"—The Returning Board could not act otherwise than they did—Infamy of Tilden and his Democracy.

Thus throughout these seventeen parishes these were the agencies, this the diabolical system of terrorism through organized murder and outrage employed by the chivalrous "Knights of the White Camellia," in "bull-dozing" a Democratic majority of 10,000 out of parishes entitled to a Republican majority of 7,000! In the

other forty parishes of the State, where intimidation failed, a registered Republican majority of 15,000 yielded an actual Republican majority of 6,000. Under a fair or free election in the unfortunate "bull-dozed" parishes, the majority in Louisiana for Hayes and Wheeler would have been greatly increased. Under the laws of the State the returning board could not restore the Republican majority. Although the proofs that thousands of Republican voters were disfranchised through intimidation were as overwhelming as their details were shocking and disgraceful to the State and nation, although simple justice demanded the restoration of the Republican vote, yet the board was powerless to remedy the great wrong in that way. It could only reject the "bull-dozed" returns. Could it have rendered real justice by the restoration of the legal vote which would have been polled in these parishes in the absence of intimidation, Hayes and Wheeler's majority in the State would have been between 10,000 and 15,000 votes. No legal poll, such as is contemplated by the Constitution and the laws, would have depressed that majority.

What, then in the light of the facts, is the attitude of Tilden and the Democracy in demanding the Presidency upon the votes of Louisiana? Is it not simply infamous?

PART V.

**The Hale amendment to the
one-sided Potter resolution—
The Florida frauds—The Oregon
corruption and bribery—
The Louisiana bull-dozing
and frauds—The South Carolina
bribery and corruption—
The Mississippi shot-gun
frauds.**

The following is the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. Hale to the Potter resolution appointing an investigating committee:

The Florida Frauds.

Resolved, That the select committee to whom this House has committed the investigation of certain matters affecting, as is alleged, the legal title of the President of the United States to the high office which he now holds, be, and is hereby, instructed, in the course of its investigations, to fully inquire into all the facts connected with the election in the State of Florida in November, 1876, and especially into the circumstances attending the transmission and receiving of certain telegraphic dispatches sent in said year between Tallahassee, in said State, and New York city, viz:

"TALLAHASSEE, November 9, 1873.
"A. S. Hewitt, New York:

"Comply if possible with my telegram.
"GEO. P. HARRY."

Also the following:

"TALLAHASSEE, December 1, 1876.
"W. T. Pelton, New York:

"Answer Mac's dispatch immediately, or we will be embarrassed at a critical time.

"WILKINSON CALL."

Also the following:

"TALLAHASSEE, December 4, 1876.
"W. T. Pelton:

"Things culminating here. Answer Mac's dispatch to-day.
"W. CALL."

And also the facts connected with all telegraphic dispatches between one John F. Coyle and said Pelton, under the latter's real or fictitious name, and with any and all demands for money on or about December 1, 1876, from said Tallahassee, on said Pelton, or said Hewitt, or with any attempt to corrupt or bribe any official of the State of Florida by any person acting for said Pelton, or in the interest of Samuel J. Tilden as a presidential candidate.

Also to investigate the charges of intimidation at Lake City, in Columbia county, where Joel Niblack and other white men, put ropes around the necks of colored men, and proposed to hang them, but released them on their promise to join a Democratic club and vote for Samuel J. Tilden.

Also the facts of the election in Jackson county, where the ballot-boxes were kept out the sight of voters, who voted through openings or holes six feet above the ground, and where many more Republican votes were thus given into the hands of the Democratic inspectors than were counted or returned by them.

Also the facts of the election in Waldo precinct, in Alachua county, where the passengers on an emigrant train, passing through on the day of election, were allowed to vote.

Also the facts of the election in Manatee county, returning 235 majority for the Tilden electors, where there were no county officers, no registration, no notice of the election, and where the Republican party, therefore, did not vote.

Also the facts of the election in the third precinct of Key West, giving 342 Democratic majority, where the Democratic inspector carried the ballot-box home, and pretended to count the ballots on the next day, outside of the precinct and contrary to law.

Also the facts of the election in Hamilton, where the election officers exercised no control over the ballot-box, but left it in unauthorized hands that it might be tampered with.

Also the reasons why the Attorney General of the State, William Archer Cooke, as a member of the Canvassing Board, officially advised the board, and himself voted, to exclude the Hamilton county and Key West precinct returns, thereby giving, in any event, over 500 majority to the Republican electoral ticket, and afterwards protested against the result which he had voted for, and whether or not said Cooke was afterward rewarded for such protest by being made a State judge.

The Oregon Bribery and Corruption.

And that said committee is further instructed and directed to investigate into all the facts connected with an alleged attempt to secure one electoral vote in the State of Oregon for Samuel J. Tilden for President of the United States, and Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice President, by unlawfully setting up the election of E. A. Cronin as one of such presidential electors elected from the State of Oregon on the 7th of November, the candidates for the presidential electors on the two tickets being as follows:

On the Republican ticket: W. C. Odell, J. C. Cartwright, and John W. Watts.

On the Democratic ticket: E. A. Cronin, W. A. Laswell, and Henry Klippel.

The votes received by each candidate as shown by the official vote as canvassed, declared, and certified to by the Secretary of State under the seal of the State—the Secretary being, under the laws of Oregon, sole canvassing officer, as will be shown hereafter—being as follows:

W. K. Odell received.....	15,206 votes.
John C. Cartwright received.....	15,214 "
John W. Watts received.....	15,206 "
E. A. Cronin received.....	14,157 "
W. B. Laswell received.....	14,149 "
Henry Klippel received.....	14,136 "

And by the unlawful attempt to bribe one of said legally elected electors to recognize said Cronin as an elector for President and Vice-President, in order that one of the electoral votes of said State might be cast for said Samuel J. Tilden as President and for Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President; and especially to examine and inquire into all the facts relating to the sending of money from New York to some place in said Oregon for the purposes of such bribery, the parties sending and receiving the same, and their relations to and agency for said Tilden, and more particularly to investigate into all the circumstances attending the transmission of the following telegraphic dispatches:

"PORTLAND, OREGON, November 14, 1876.

"Gov. L. F. Grover:

"Come down to-morrow if possible.

"W. H. EFFINGER,

"A. NOLTNER,

"C. P. BELLINGER."

"PORTLAND, November 16, 1876.

"To Gov. Grover, Salem:

"We want to see you particularly on account of dispatches from the East.

"WILLIAM STRONG,

"C. P. BELLINGER,

"S. H. REED,

"W. W. THAYER,

"C. E. BRONAUGH."

Also the following cypher dispatch sent from Portland, Oregon, on the 28th day of November, 1876, to New York city:

PORTLAND, November 28, 1876.

"To W. T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York:

"By vizier association innocuous to negligence cunning minutely previously readmit doltish to purchase afar act with cunning afar sacristy unweighed afar pointer tigress cattle superannuated syllabus dilatoriness misapprehension contraband Kountz bisulcuous top usher spiniferous answer.

J. H. N. PATRICK.

"I fully endorse this.

"JAMES K. KELLY."

Of which, when the key was discovered, the following was found to be the true intent and meaning:

"PORTLAND, November 28, 1876.

"To W. T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York:

"Certificate will be issued to one Democrat. Must purchase a Republican elector to recognize and act with Democrats and secure the vote and prevent trouble. Deposit \$10,000 to my credit with Kountz Brothers, Wall street. Answer.

J. H. N. PATRICK.

"I fully endorse this.

"JAMES K. KELLY."

Also the following:

"NEW YORK, November 25, 1876.

"A. Bush, Salem:

"Use all means to prevent certificate. Very important.

"C. E. TILDEN."

Also the following :

" December 1, 1876.

" To Hon. Sam. J. Tilden, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York.

" I shall decide every point in the case of post-office elector in favor of the highest Democratic elector, and grant certificate accordingly on morning of 6th instant. Confidential. GOVERNOR."

Also the following :

" SAN FRANCISCO, December 5.

' Ladd & Bush, Salem :

" Funds from New York will be deposited to your credit here to-morrow when bank opens. I know it. Act accordingly. Answer."

" W. C. GRISWOLD."

Also the following, six days before the foregoing :

" NEW YORK, November 29, 1876.

" To J. H. N. Patriok, Portland, Oregon :
" Moral hasty sidral vizer gabble camp by hemistic welcome licentiate muskeete compassion neglectful recoverable hathouse live innovator brackish association dime afar idolator session hemistic mitre."

[No signature.]

Of which the interpretation is as follows :

" NEW YORK, November 29, 1876.

" To J. H. N. Patriok, Portland, Oregon :
" No. How soon will Governor decide certificate? If you make obligation contingent on the result in March, it can be done, and slightly if necessary."

[No Signature.]

Also the following, one day later :

" PORTLAND, November 30, 1876.

" To W. T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York :

" Governor all right without reward. Will issue certificate Tuesday. This is a secret. Republicans threaten if certificate issued to ignore Democratic claims and fill vacancy, and thus defeat action of Governor. One elector must be paid to recognize Democrat to secure majority. Have employed three lawyers. Editor of only Republican paper as one lawyer, fee \$3,000. Will take \$5,000 for Republican elector; must raise money; can't make fee contingent. Mail Saturday. Kelly and Bellinger will act. Communicate with them. Must act promptly."

[No Signature.]

Also the following :

" SAN FRANCISCO, December 5, 1876.

" To Kountze Bros., No. 12 Wall street, New York :

" Has my account credit by any funds lately? How much?

" J. H. N. PATRICK."

Also the following :

" NEW YORK, December 6.

" J. N. H. Patrick, San Francisco :
" Davis deposited eight thousand dollars December first. KOUNTZE BROS."

Also the following :

" SAN FRANCISCO, December 6.

" To James K. Kelly :

" The eight deposited as directed this morning. Let not technicality prevent winning. Use your discretion."

[No signature.]

And the following :

" NEW YORK, December 6.

" Hon. Jas. K. Kelly :

" Is your matter certain? There must be no mistake. All depends on you. Place no reliance on any favorable report from three southward. Sonetter. Answer quick."

[No signature.]

Also the following :

" December 6, 1876.

" To Col. W. T. Pelton, 15 Gramercy Park, N. Y. :
" Glory to God! Hold on to the one vote in Oregon! I have one hundred thousand men to back it up! "CORSE."

And said committee is further directed to inquire into and bring to light, so far as it may be possible, the entire correspondence and conspiracy referred to in the above telegraphic dispatches, and to ascertain what were the relations existing between any of the parties sending or receiving said dispatches and W. T. Pelton, of New York, and also what relations existed between said W. T. Pelton and Samuel J. Tilden, of New York.

The Louisiana bull-dozing and frauds.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to make inquiry into all the circumstances and facts attending and connected with the alleged attempts to violently and fraudulently secure the electoral vote of the State of Louisiana for Samuel J. Tilden as President and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President of the United States, by organizing armed bands of men, who overran certain parishes in said State, particularly the parishes of Morehouse, Ouachita, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, and West Feliciana, burning the houses of colored Republicans, murdering the inmates or driving them from their homes, and by these and other methods of intimidation establishing a reign of terror such as prevented any approach to a fair expression of the legal votes of such parishes, and to make a full report upon the same; and also upon any attempt made to corrupt or bribe any presidential elector of said State, or any of the officials of the State, whose legal duty it was, by the laws of said State, to count or declare the vote of said State, to wrongfully and unlawfully count and declare said vote for the electors representing said Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks.

The South Carolina bribery and corruption.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to investigate all the facts and circumstances connected with an alleged attempt to bribe and corrupt any Presidential elector of the State of South Carolina, so that a part or all of the electoral vote of said State should be wrongfully cast for Samuel J. Tilden as President and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President.

The Mississippi shot-gun frauds.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to make full inquiry and investigation into all the methods of violence, intimidation, and fraud by which the voters of the State of Mississippi are alleged to have been prevented from casting their votes freely and peaceably for the candidates of their choice in the Presidential election of November, 1876, and the causes which led to the transformation in said State of a Republican majority of 40,000 to a Democratic majority nearly as large, and to extend such inquiries into all other States where such intimidation, violence, and fraud are alleged to have influenced the result in said Presidential election; and, in investigating into such alleged violence, intimidation, and fraud in the State of Mississippi, said committee is directed to examine especially into the facts of the population, colored and white, in the Sixth Congressional district in said State of Mississippi, and the registration for the year 1876, when it is alleged that more than five thousand colored men were improperly refused registration, and also to inquire into the facts which led to the radical change in the colored vote in said district, after such alleged intimi-

dation and fraud were resorted to to prevent colored voters from casting their ballots freely and according to their wishes, some of which facts are set forth in the following statement:

REGISTRATION STATISTICS, SIXTH DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI, 1876.

	Whites	Blacks.
Tunica County.....	*300	1,500
Coahoma County.....	735	2,003
Bolivar County.....	850	2,850
Washington County.....	1,264	4,648
Issaquena County.....	245	1,402
Sharkey County.....	*300	700
Warren County.....	2,019	1,689
Claiborne County.....	917	1,279
Jefferson County.....	786	2,154
Adams County.....	964	3,213
Wilkinson County.....	754	2,501

*Estimated.

ELECTION STATISTICS IN FIVE COUNTIES.

	1869.	1872. President's Election.	1876. President's Election.
Washington County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,670	2,757	4,496
Republican vote.....	2,530	2,562	1,591
Democratic vote.....	140	195	*2,905
Jefferson County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,334	2,152	1,965
Republican vote.....	1,919	1,698	420
Democratic vote.....	415	454	*1,545
Claiborne County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,548	2,724	1,924
Republican vote.....	2,091	2,238	426
Democratic vote.....	457	484	*1,498
Warren County—			
Total vote polled.....	5,638	6,014	2,658
Republican vote.....	4,560	4,729	615
Democratic vote.....	1,078	1,285	*2,043

*As returned.

PART VI.

The Page resolution condemning Tilden's attempt to steal the Oregon Vote and denouncing the infamy of Cronin is defeated by the Democrats—Only two decent men in all Israel.

March, 8, 1877, Horace F. Page, of California, Republican, moved to suspend the rules and pass the following:

Resolved, That this House condemns the recent attempt to defeat the will of the people of Oregon by the refusal of the Governor of that State to certify the election of an elector having a majority of the legal votes fairly cast and is-

suing a commission to a defeated candidate. And the House also condemns and denounces the corrupt use of money to aid in this outrage, and especially the payment of \$3,000 to one Cronin, the defeated elector, for his part in the infamous transaction.

The Vote by Which Cronin was Endorsed.

The above resolution was disagreed to; yeas 87, (all Republicans, save two Democrats,) nays 90, (all Democrats;) not voting 113, (22 Republicans and 91 Democrats,) as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, Ballou, Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Davy, Denison, Dunnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Haralson, Hathorn, Henderson, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Kimball, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Le Moyne, Lynch, Lynde, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Norton, O'iver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Pratt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Willard, A. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, jr., Woodworth—87.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, J. H. Bagley, jr., Beebe, Blackburn, Boone, Bradford, Bright, Buckner, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, jr., Clymer, Collins, Culberson, J. J. Davis, Durham, Felton, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Goode, Gunter, Hardenbergh, J. T. Harris, Hartzell, Hatcher, A. S. Hewitt, Holman, House, A. Humphreys, Hunton, Hurd, T. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, New, O'Brien, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Philips, Poppleton, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robins, Snyler, Seales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, W. H. Stone, J. K. Tarbox, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Warner, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Wigginton, Wike, A. S. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. Wilson, Yeates, Young—90.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, Bagby, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banning, Bass, S. N. Bell, Bland, Bliss, Blount, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, A. Campbell, Carr, Cate, Chapin, Cochran, Cook, Concan, S. S. Cox, Cutler, Darrail, De Bolt, Dibrell, Dobbins, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, Fuller, Garfield, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goodin, Hale, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Haymond, C. Hays, Hendee, Henkle, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Hooker, Hopkins, Hoskins, Jenks, F. Jones, Kehr, King, Lane, Levy, Lewis, Lord, Luttrell, Mackey, Maish, McFarland, H. B. Metcalfe, Milliken, Morgan, Nash, L. T. Neal, Odell, Piper, Potter, Powell, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Savage, Schumaker, Singleton, Stanton, Stephens, Stevenson, Swann, Teese, Van Vorhes, Wait, Waldron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walsh, E. Ward, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, Whiting, Whitthorne, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, B. A. Willis, Wilshire, F. Wood, Woodburn—113.

